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AUTHORISED GUIDE

TO THE

TOWER OF LONDON.

(SECOND EDITION, REVISED.)

BY

W. J. LOFTIE,

B.A., F.S.A.; Author of "A History of London," "Memorials of the Savoy," &c., &c.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND PLANS.

AND WITH APPENDIX ON THE ARMOURY

BY

THE VISCOUNT DILLON.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.
AND SOLD AT THE TOWER.

1894.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

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Aug 1. 1930

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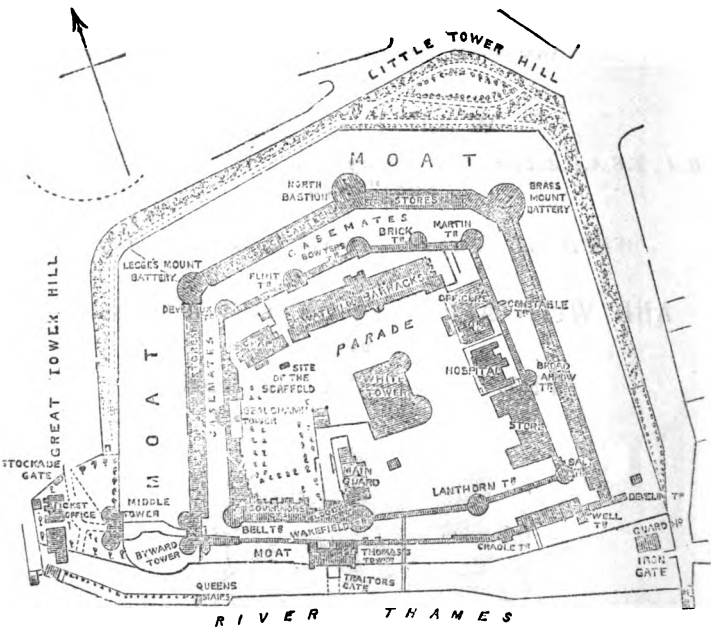

PLAN OF THE TOWER.

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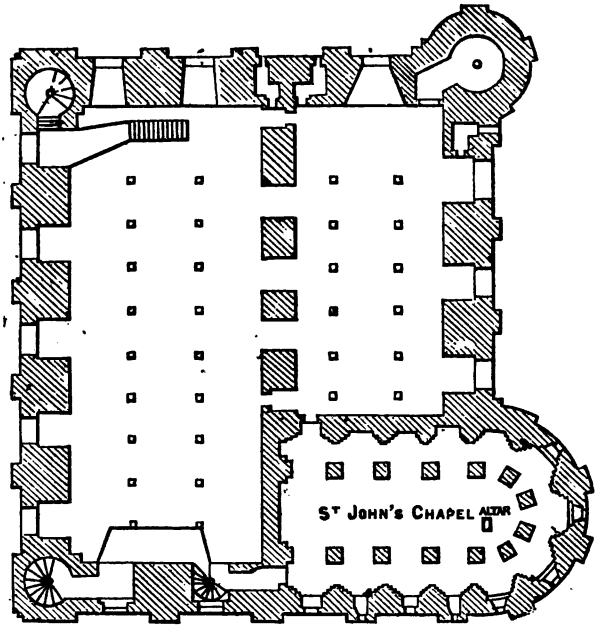

WHITE TOWER.

Plan of Middle Floor.

At the Altar, Queen Mary was betrothed to Philip, King of Spain.

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THE TOWER OF LONDON.

General Sketch.

The ground on which the Tower stands was selected by William the Conqueror very soon after he obtained possession of the kingdom. It stood partly within the ancient wall, which had been built first by the Romans about the year 360, just before their evacuation of Britain, and rebuilt by Alfred the Great in 886. Two bastions, chiefly of brick, were razed to the ground, and the firm foundation they afforded was used in part for the construction of a vast Norman Keep. The exact year when building was commenced is unknown, but the works were perhaps in progress as early as 1078, or twelve years after the Battle of Hastings, the previous Norman fortifications having probably consisted only of earthworks and wooden stockades, surrounding the Roman bastions.

The double purpose of the new building is apparent. It was intended both to protect the port of London and to overawe the citizens. The whole Tower Liberty, as it is at present, is very

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much larger than the small portion required by the Conqueror for his new buildings (see below, *Architectural History*, p. 133), and covers about twenty-six acres, of which the actual buildings within the limits of the Outer Ward occupy about twelve, eighteen in all being comprised within the garden railings which surround the ditch, or moat, now dry. It is probable that the present dimensions were not attained until the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, as we find the citizens complaining of encroachments in the reign of Richard I, and later.

The present buildings are mainly of the Norman period and that of Henry III; but architecture of almost all the styles which have flourished in England may be found within the walls. A sketch of the architectural history of the Tower of London will be found on a subsequent page. For our present purpose, it will be sufficient to point out that though the Tower is no longer a place of great military strength it has in time past been a fortress, a palace, and a prison, and to view it rightly we must regard it in this threefold aspect.

As a FORTRESS, we find that it belongs to what archæologists call the "concentric" class: that is, the Keep is as nearly as possible in the middle of the castle, and not at a corner on the outer or inner wall. The central Keep is the "White Tower." Surrounding it is the "Inner Ward," which is entered by a gateway known as the "Bloody Tower." The wall of this Inner Ward is guarded at intervals by thirteen towers, of different sizes and degrees of strength. Surrounding the wall is the

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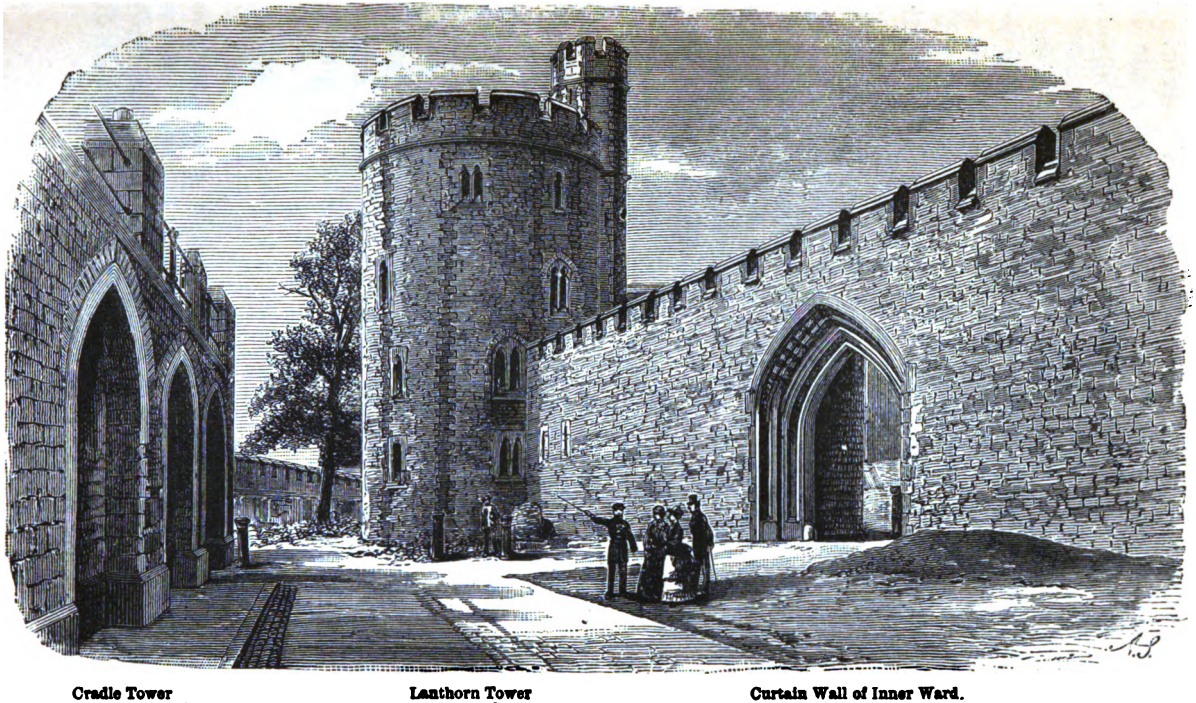

Cradle Tower and Wall of Outer Ward.

Lanthorn Tower restored.

Curtain Wall of Inner Ward.

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"Outer Ward," on which are eight towers, three of them so large as to be forts in themselves—Legge's Mount, the North Bastion, and the Brass Mount. They are very conspicuous in the first view from Tower Hill. The whole fortress, with its turrets, its battlements, its roofs and chimneys—a good-sized town in itself, comprising nearly fifty separate houses—is encircled by a wide Ditch, or "Moat." By land it communicates with the outer world only at two points. One is at the south-western corner, where a stone bridge leads to the Middle Tower, a gateway, which was formerly strengthened with an outwork, the Lion Tower, beyond it. The other entrance is at the south-eastern angle, and is known as the Iron Gate. (See below, p. 133.)

As a PALACE the Tower of London was occupied at intervals by all our Sovereigns down to Charles II, the last who lodged in the royal apartments on the southern side of the White Tower, the night before his coronation, and who rode from here through the City to Westminster. The greater part of the palace buildings, which came down to the Inner Wall, just east of the Wakefield Tower, and comprised the Great Hall in which Queen Anne Boleyn was tried, were pulled down during the rule of Cromwell, and the remainder have also long disappeared, their site being occupied till lately by modern storehouses.

The security of the walls made the Tower convenient as a state PRISON. The first prisoner whose name is known with certainty was Ralf Flambard, Bishop of Durham, who, under William Rufus, had been active in carrying on the building

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left unfinished by the Conqueror. The Bishop was imprisoned by Henry I, but managed to escape, 1101. From this time the Tower was seldom without captives, English or foreign, of rank and importance. (*Biographical Notices*, arranged alphabetically, of the principal prisoners will be found at p. 53.)

A very small number of executions took place within the Tower, on the Green, during the Tudor period. All the victims, except the last, were females. The usual place where condemned prisoners paid the last penalty was on Tower Hill, at the verge of the precinct.

Guide.

Tower Hill.

We may now proceed to notice the principal objects of interest seen by the visitor. A fine view of the great fortress is obtained immediately on emerging from the narrow streets which lead to Tower Hill. In the foreground a green space is railed in. Here, at a spot marked by a paved place in the grass, the first permanent gibbet was set up in the reign of Edward IV, and the place became the usual scene of executions for State offences during the Tudor reigns, especially when a procession through the City to Tyburn was deemed inexpedient in times of popular excitement. But the first recorded executions here were much earlier, namely, those of Sir Simon

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Burley, Sir John Beauchamp, and Sir James Berners, adherents of King Richard II, who were beheaded in 1388. In the following list of prisoners beheaded on Tower Hill only the more eminent are named :—

1462. John, twelfth Earl of Oxford; his eldest son, Aubrey de Vere; Sir Thomas Tudenham, and Sir William Tyrrell.
1499. Edward, Earl of Warwick, last of the male line of the old, so-called "Plantagenet" family.
1510. Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson, or Epsom, the rapacious ministers of Henry VII.
1521. Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham.
1535. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.
1535. Sir Thomas More.
1536. George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.
1538. Thomas, Lord D'Arcy, eighty years of age.
1539. Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter.
1539. Henry Pole, Lord Montagu, eldest son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury.
1540. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.
1547. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, eldest son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.
1549. Thomas, Lord Seymour.
1552. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.
1553. John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.
1554. Lord Guildford Dudley.
1554. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk
1572. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
1641. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

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1645. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1680. William Howard, Viscount Stafford.
1685. James Scott, Duke of Monmouth.
1716. James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater.
1716. William Gordon, Viscount Kenmure.
1746. William Boyd, Earl of Kilmarnock.
1746. Arthur Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino.
1747. Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat.

(*For further particulars see below, Biographical Notices.*)

It may be worth while to note as curious that the first and last prisoners recorded as having been beheaded on Tower Hill were named Simon—Simon Burley, in 1388, and Simon Fraser, in 1747, more than three centuries and a half later.

The whole space of ground between the City boundaries and the Tower Ditch was constantly in dispute, the civic authorities claiming it at intervals from 1466 till 1686, when a Royal charter defined the district as the Liberty of the Tower, and placed its government virtually in the hands of the authorities of the Tower. At the time, however, when a majority of the public executions took place the site of the scaffold was considered to be without the City and Tower boundaries alike, and subject to the jurisdiction of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who here received prisoners from their gaolers, in order to carry into execution the sentence of punishment contained in the warrant. It has thus come to pass that we say a convict is executed when we mean that the sentence of the law is executed on him.

As we approach the entrance we have a good view of the fortifications. The Ditch, Fosse or

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Moat, now dry, is surrounded by slopes laid out as a garden and fenced in by railings. In the reign of Edward III it was unlawful to bathe in the Fosse or in the Thames near the Tower, the penalty being death. Beyond the Moat we see the White Tower, the highest of the buildings, rising behind the line of the Inner Ward, which is marked, beginning from the left-hand side, by the Devereux and Beauchamp Towers, the red-tiled roofs of the lodgings of the Yeoman Gaoler and the "Queen's House," or Lieutenant's Lodgings, and the Bell Tower to the right. In front of this line again we see the heavy bastions of the Outer Ward, ending on the right, near the river bank, with the Byward Tower. Still nearer, on the hither side of the Moat, is the Middle Tower, now the chief entrance. Formerly there stood another fortification outside the Middle Tower, and in the space between the two was kept the Royal Menagerie, whence this was known as the Lion's Gate, and the saying arose, "To see the Lions," for a visit to the Tower. The Ticket Office and some adjacent buildings are on the site of the Lion's Gate, the last of the wild beasts having been removed to the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, in 1834.

The Royal Menagerie existed here almost from the time the Tower was built. Henry I kept lions and leopards. Henry III had a present from the Emperor Frederick II of three leopards, and increased the collection with a white bear from Norway, for which a stout cord was provided that he might fish in the Thames. An elephant was given to Henry by the King of France, and a

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house, which cost £22 and 20*d.*, was built for it, the first elephant, it was said, ever seen north of the Alps. We hear of lions in the reigns of the three Edwards, and a little later the office of Keeper was held by men of superior rank, and sometimes by the Lieutenant. Edward III had a lion and lioness; Henry VI kept lions and leopards; Henry VIII had four large lions and two leopards; James I baited the lions in 1604 and 1609; under Cromwell there were six lions here, and in the reign of Queen Anne, eleven, besides other animals. In 1754 they were reduced to two, but in 1796 there were four lionesses and one lion, and it is recorded that "they constantly bred in the Tower." Nevertheless, by 1822, the breed was extinct. Many superstitions were connected with the Tower lions, and their death was looked upon as ominous. An old lion died just before Queen Elizabeth, and another, as was much noted at the time, two days before Charles II.

Having obtained the necessary tickets we approach

The Middle Tower,

St. Martin's, in the reign of Henry VIII, the outer facing of which is probably of the time of Charles II or later, and passing through the archway we stand on what was the drawbridge across the Ditch, or Moat, now a stone bridge, 130 feet long, by which we reach

The Byward Tower,

the chief gateway of the Outer Ward, probably erected in the reign of Richard II on an older

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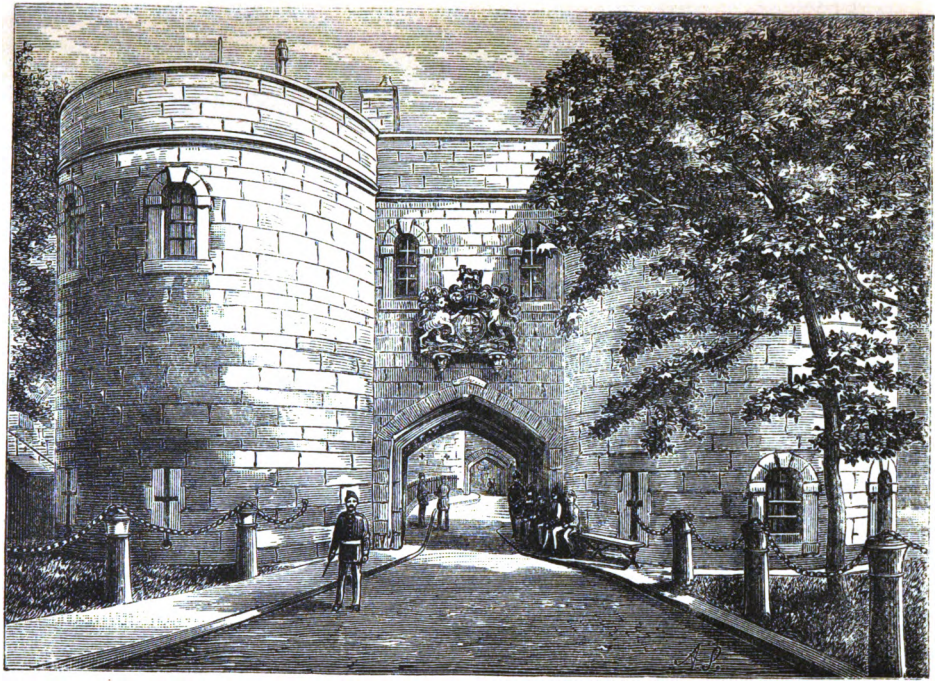
To face p. 12.



MIDDLE TOWER.

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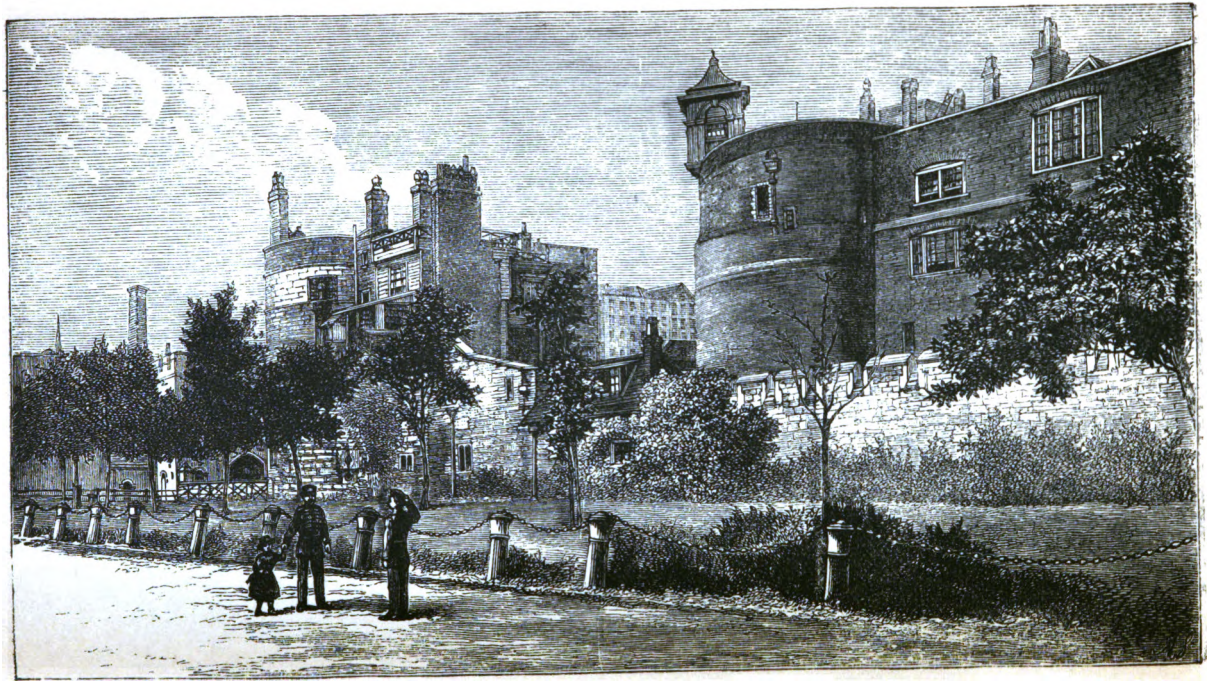

Middle Tower and Gate. Byward Tower. Bell Tower. Queen's House

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foundation. Passing through the archway, and glancing at the curious vaulted chambers on the right, we find ourselves in a narrow roadway.

The Bell Tower.

On our right is the curtain wall of the Outer Ward, reaching from the gateway to St. Thomas's Tower, or the Traitors' Gate, and on our left, when we have passed the narrow street of soldiers' houses, which forms the western side of the Outer Ward, we have, high up above our heads, the Bell Tower, so called from an alarm bell which hung in a little turret above the roof. The basement of the Bell Tower is of solid masonry as high as ten feet from the ground. Above are two vaulted chambers, of which the upper is the larger. Here many prisoners have been confined, the situation adjoining the Lieutenant's Lodgings being very convenient and safe. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was lodged here by Henry VIII, and very harshly treated. It is said that when Queen Mary sent her sister Elizabeth to the Tower she was lodged here, and the parapet walk, which is easily accessible by a staircase from this chamber, is still called "Queen Elizabeth's Walk." In 1565, Mary, Countess of Lennox, was placed in this tower, on the news of her son, Lord Darnley, having married Mary, Queen of Scotland. A little further on, past the Bell Tower, we reach what is now called the "Queen's House," lighted by modern sash windows. One of them looks into the Council Chamber, in which, after the Gunpowder Plot (1605), Guy Fawkes and his fellow conspirators were tried and

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condemned (1606). Another lights the adjoining room, whence the Earl of Nithsdale escaped in 1716. The newer houses whose gables peep over the parapet mark the site of the little garden in which Raleigh was allowed to walk during his long imprisonment, and where he could look over and speak to the people coming and going. On the right or south side of the roadway is

The Traitors' Gate,

otherwise, and more properly, called St. Thomas's Tower, as a chapel which it contains was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. The finely jointed and "joggled" masonry of the wide flat arch has been greatly admired, and shows the difficulty experienced by the architects of Henry III in building a water gate sixty feet wide. There is a legend that "when this archway was made first it fell down, but was immediately rebuilt. A year later (1241) it fell again. Matthew Paris tells the story with evident belief. "On the night of the second fall a certain grave and reverend priest saw a robed Archbishop, cross in hand, who gazed sternly upon the walls with which the King was surrounding the Tower. Striking them, he asked, 'Why do ye build these?' on which the new work fell down. Another ghost stood by the Archbishop, like an attendant. The frightened priest addressed himself to him and asked, 'Who, then, is the Archbishop?' 'St. Thomas the Martyr, was the reply, 'by birth a citizen, who resents these works, undertaken in scorn and prejudice of the citizens and destroys them beyond the power

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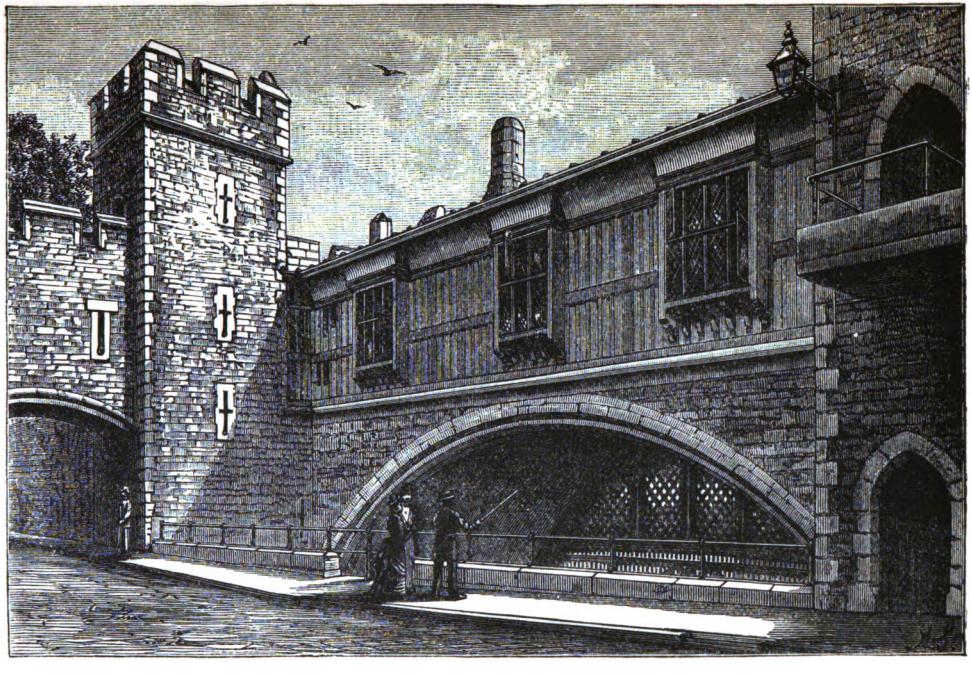

ST. THOMAS'S TOWER AND TRAITORS' GATE.

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of restoration.'" The story added to the popularity of the Saint with the Londoners, but did not deter King Henry from finishing the building, which, however, he dedicated to the Archbishop.

At the steps under the archway of St. Thomas's Tower prisoners were usually landed when they came by boat. So, too, when a state trial took place at Westminster these stairs were found convenient, and many eminent personages underwent the same sad experience as the Duke of Buckingham in 1521. He was taken to the Court at Westminster, tried and condemned, and brought back in a barge in which part was furnished with a carpet and cushions suitable to his exalted rank. On the returned voyage, however, he refused the seat of honour. "When I came to Westminster," he observed, "I was Lord High Constable, and Duke of Buckingham, but now—poor Edward Bohun." Sir Thomas More, in 1534, went to his trial on foot, but returned by boat and landed here. Queen Anne Boleyn landed here on the 2nd May, 1536, and never left the Tower again. She was beheaded on the Green on the 19th. Queen Katharine Howard was rowed in a barge from Syon, beyond Brentford, on February 10th, 1542, and was beheaded three days later, without leaving the Tower. On the 2nd December, 1551, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was conveyed from these steps at five in the morning to Westminster, but returned, after his trial, through the city. Lady Jane Grey landed here as Queen on the 10th July, 1553. She went on foot to her trial in the Guildhall, and returned the same way after her condemnation. Her father, the Duke of

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Suffolk, landed at the Traitors' Gate after his trial and condemnation at Westminster, 17th February, 1554. When Queen Mary was suspicious of her sister, Elizabeth, she was sent to the Tower, and landed under St. Thomas's Archway, 17th March, 1554. In 1601, the Earl of Essex, being apprehended on the 8th February, was taken at ten at night to Lambeth because of the tide being unsuitable for the passage under London Bridge, and the next day landed with the Earl of Southampton, his fellow prisoner, at the Traitors' Gate. The Duke of Monmouth, after the defeat of his rebellion at the Battle of Sedgemoor, was brought to London, and landed here on 13th July, 1685. (See *Biographical Notices.*)

Turning our backs on St. Thomas's Tower and the wide archway and steps of the Traitors' Gate, beneath it, we are nearly opposite to what was, and is still, the chief gateway of the Inner Ward or Bailey of the whole fortress—

The Bloody Tower.

There are two storeys above the great pointed archway which we now face. A chamber in the lower storey contains the windlass and chains for raising the portcullis, whose bars we see immediately under the arch. The passage is vaulted overhead, and the footway ascends steeply, turning in its way a little to the right. The ascent continues until the Keep, or White Tower, is reached, a high wall rising on the left, and probably on both sides before the removal of the Cold Harbour Tower, which occupied the place of the present barrack

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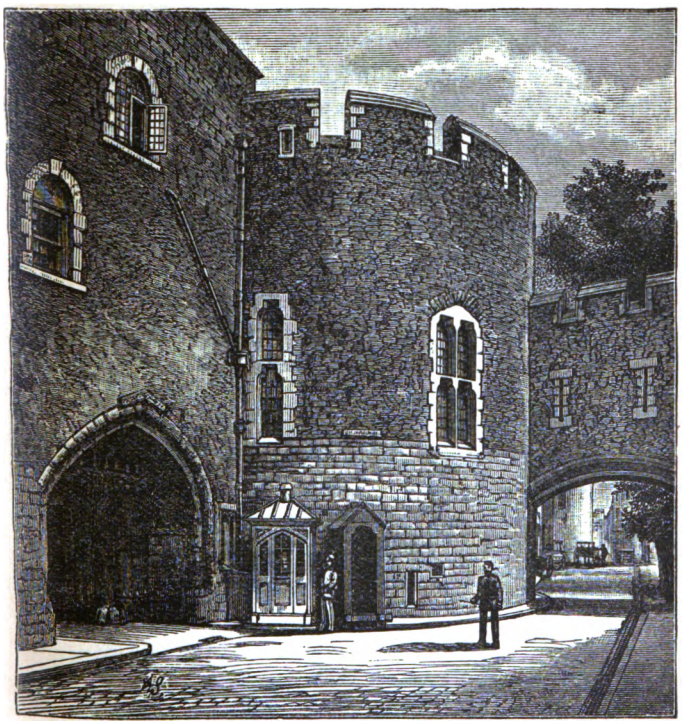

Bloody Tower and Gateway. **Wakefield Tower.**

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and guard-room, on the east side. This slope would give, in case of assault, great advantages to the defenders, who had the parapets on either hand from which to repel the assailants. The middle storey of the Bloody Tower is entered by a doorway from the site of the Garden, behind the western parapet, and probably on this account the old name of the gateway is the Garden Tower. It probably derives its present name from the suicide in it of a prisoner, Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland, who was found dead in his bed, with three bullets through his body, 21st June, 1585. (See p. 105.) The name is also sometimes derived from the supposed murder of the princes, the sons of Edward IV; and sometimes from a tradition, not devoid of probability, that the upper chamber was the abode of Henry VI at the time of his death. The garden is now partly built upon, and partly thrown into the parade ground; but the visitor will remember with interest that it figures in history as the place whence Raleigh is said to have looked down and conversed with passers-by. It is described as "fensed with lathes," and as being used by the Lieutenant to grow "herbes." A prisoner allowed to walk in it could probably look over the main curtain wall to the south, and see the people who passed along the roadway of the Outer Bailey; and Raleigh seems to have occupied the adjoining chamber for a time at least, as we are told of his having seen from his study window a procession of barges when Queen Elizabeth landed at Blackfriars. It is possible that this may have been a window of the Bloody Tower, but as he was imprisoned on several

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occasions, and in different parts of the fortress, according to the severity of his gaolers, it is not possible to identify all his lodgings with certainty. (See *Biographical Notices*, p. 109.) Another prisoner lodged in the Garden Tower was Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, beheaded 2nd June, 1572. (See p. 102.)

Immediately adjoining the Garden or Bloody Tower is the only relic of the Norman period, besides the Keep, now left. Before the construction of the outer bailey, the White Tower, as the centre of the fortress, was surrounded by smaller buildings. Among them, besides the Cold Harbour and the Lanthorn Tower, on this southern side, was

The Wakefield Tower.

Between it and St. Thomas's Tower, spanning the roadway of the outer bailey, was an archway, carrying a narrow passage or bridge (recently rebuilt), beyond which the visitor does not pass, but through which he can see the (restored) Lanthorn Tower, and the Salt Tower on the north side, and the Cradle and Develin, or Galleyman's Towers on the south, nearer the river. Similar archways crossed the roadway of the Outer Ward at many points, for the greater security. The Wakefield Tower was partially rebuilt in the reign of Henry III, the basement containing a chamber, with walls 13 feet 6 inches thick, of the original Norman construction (not shown). The whole building is circular in plan, and two storeys in height, the upper part dating a little before 1238, when a chapel is mentioned as being within "the new

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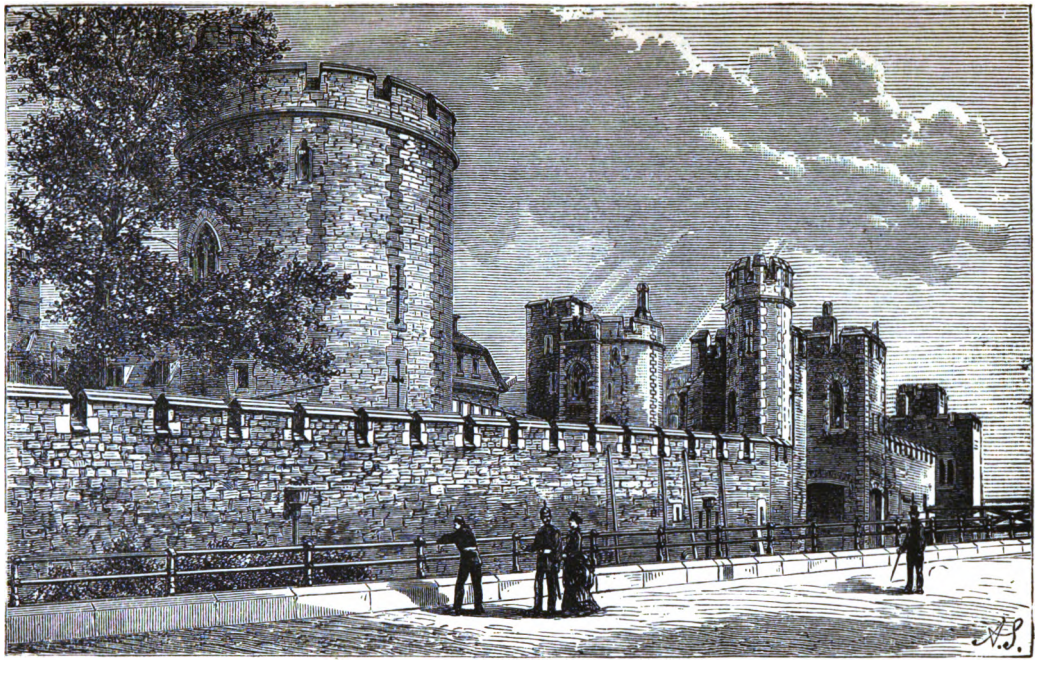

New Lanthorn Tower. Old Armoury. Salt Tower. Cradle Tower. Well Tower. Irongate Tower.

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tower next the Hall." It was then probably known as the Hall Tower, from its proximity to the domestic buildings of the King's palace, which stood to the eastward, and is not to be confounded with the Constable's or Lieutenant's Lodgings, now called the "Queen's House," at the other side. The public records were stored in it for centuries before 1856, whence it was also sometimes called the Record Tower; but the usual modern name is probably derived from some connection with the Lancastrian victory at Wakefield and the imprisonment of Yorkists in 1460. The principal apartment is 30 feet in diameter, and 25 feet high, and in a recess is the site of the "chapel" above mentioned. Here, Henry VI, during the many years of his residence, or confinement, is believed to have knelt at his devotions, and here, too, according to some traditions he was put to death, according to some he died, 22nd May, 1471. The chapel, or oratory, was in a recess, on the south-east side of the chamber. It had its aumbry, *piscina* and *sedilia*, and was something like a chantry in a church, designed, fitted up, and used for the celebration of the mass. The changes by which the records were removed, and the chamber was made a secure repository for the Crown Jewels, were considerable; but the Wakefield Tower is now the first interior shown to the visitor after he has entered the Inner Bailey by the narrow passage under the Bloody Tower.

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The Regalia.

The centre of the vaulted chamber is occupied by a double iron "cage," within which, suitably arranged, are the splendid objects which form the Regalia of England. They are in the custody of an officer appointed for this duty on the nomination of the Sovereign, under a Warrant from the Lord Chamberlain, by whom only they can be removed when required for use by the Sovereign on state occasions. Under King John the Crown Jewels were sometimes in the custody of the Templars in their house in Fleet Street, before 1212; but in 1253 the regalia were sent, sealed up for safe custody, to the Tower of London, and they have almost ever since been kept here. The Jewels were removed about 1641, from a store-room on the south side of the White Tower, lest they should be endangered by the neighbourhood of a powder magazine, to the north-eastern corner of the Inner Ward, where the Martin, Burbidge or Brick Tower was fitted up for them and for the residence of the Keeper. After the death of Charles I, 1649, the older objects were dispersed, broken up, or lost, with the exception of a few pieces; and at the restoration, Sir Robert Vyner, the goldsmith, was employed to supply everything required for the coronation of Charles II, except, of course, some fine stones which had decorated former crowns and were now re-set. In 1671 the Keeper, Talbot Edwards, who lived in the Jewel Tower, and who was the first to exhibit the regalia, was set upon by Thomas Blood, who had been an officer in the Republican army, and

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nearly murdered, the crown being actually carried off for a short distance. Edwards, however, though seventy-seven years of age, made such a gallant resistance, that help arrived in time and the attempt was frustrated. In 1867 the chamber in this tower was re-fitted and strengthened, and the Jewels were shortly afterwards removed hither. The regalia now shown in the Wakefield Tower include various classes of objects, crowns, sceptres, and other things worn or carried at the coronation ceremony; sacred vessels used in Westminster Abbey on the same occasion, and at certain other religious ceremonies; the gold and silver-gilt table plate used at the coronation banquet; and a set of the insignia of British Orders of Knighthood, in gold, jewelled and enamelled in their proper colours.

Nearly all the historical objects in this case date since the restoration of Charles II. In 1660, on His Majesty's return, there existed only some loose stones and some fragments of the ancient crowns previously preserved in the Tower, together with other royal treasures, and of those which had so long been regarded as the relics of King Edward the Confessor only one anointing spoon. Vyner, who was afterwards Lord Mayor, and is frequently mentioned by Pepys and other contemporary writers, was charged by the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the Wardrobe, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of the Jewel House, to make the new regalia for the coronation. The utmost care was taken to follow the old patterns so far as they were remembered, and the old names were given to each object. They comprised two imperial

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crowns, one to be called St. Edward's, to be set on the King's head in Westminster Abbey, the other to be worn on the return to Westminster Hall; an orb; a sceptre with a cross, to be called St. Edward's; a sceptre with a dove; a long sceptre of gold, to be called St. Edward's staff; a ring with a ruby; a pair of gold spurs; a chalice and paten of gold; an ampulla for the anointing oil, and *a spoon;* all of which, except the last, were duly made in time for the coronation, which took place on April 23rd, 1661.

The early regalia, partly kept in the Tower and partly at Westminster, will be found noticed below as far as may be under each heading; and it only remains to say that this display of art in the working of the precious metals is remarkable both for its historical association and for the rarity of authentic gold and silver plate of the time, comparatively late as it may seem. The older objects, in imitation of which so many of these were made, were venerable for their antiquity, but intrinsically not so valuable as those which have succeeded them. (For further particulars regarding the old jewels, the reader is referred to *Archæologia*, vol. xv, 271; and for the new regalia, to vol. xxix, 262.)

The following are the principal objects shown:—

THE CROWN OF QUEEN VICTORIA occupies the highest place in the case. It was used for the coronation of Her Majesty in 1838, and was made for the purpose by Messrs. Rundell & Bridges. The principal jewels from the crown worn by George IV, some of them of great antiquity and others furnished for the purpose by command of Her Majesty, were employed, the result being

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gorgeous and tasteful in the extreme. The gross weight is 39 oz. 5 dwts. (troy weight). The circlet consists of a golden band, surrounding a crimson velvet cap, bordered with ermine. The band supports four golden branches, which, meeting in the centre, form, as it were, two arches, from which rises an orb, or mound, of diamonds, over which is the cross, also composed of diamonds, with a magnificent sapphire in the centre. Round the band or circlet, and alternating with the springing of the arches, rise four *fleurs-de-lis*, composed of brilliants. The arches rise from four crosses, of the form known to heralds as *patée*, sometimes, but erroneously, described as "Maltese." The first of these crosses, in the front of the crown, contains seventy-five brilliants, surrounding the ancient and famous ruby which belonged to Edward, Prince of Wales, known as the "Black Prince," said to have been given to him by Peter, King of Castile, during his campaign in Spain in 1366. It was worn in the helmet of Henry V at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. It is pierced in the Oriental fashion, a smaller stone being now used to fill the hole, and was set in the back of the crown of George IV, a sapphire, mentioned below, being in front. The three other crosses are each set with an emerald centre, surrounded respectively with 132, 124, and 130 diamonds. The circlet or band which forms the base of the crown is edged above and below with pearls, 129 being in the upper and 112 in the lower row. In front, immediately below the great ruby in its cross of brilliants, a very fine sapphire, bought for the crown by George IV, is set in the circlet, which is

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further ornamented with seven smaller sapphires alternating with eight emeralds, all surrounded with small brilliants and other precious stones. The whole number of diamonds of all sizes in the crown is 2,783, and there are 277 pearls, 5 rubies, 17 sapphires, and 11 emeralds. Many of these jewels belong to ancient Royal collections, and have been set in crowns made for coronations since that of Charles II, and probably in other crowns at an earlier period. The "imperiall crowne," broken up in 1649, was kept in the "Upper Jewell House of the Tower," and weighed 7 lbs. 6 oz. It was valued by the Parliamentary Commissioners at £1,110, and was set with 19 sapphires, 58 rubies, 2 emeralds, 28 diamonds, and 168 pearls. The great ruby, which is now in the front of the crown, is thus described and valued in the parliamentary inventory: "One ruby ballass pierced and wrapt in a paper by it selfe, valued at £4."

The Crown made for the coronation of Mary of Modena, the second wife of King James II, is perhaps next in value and magnificence. It is richly adorned with pearls and diamonds.

The Crown made for Queen Mary II, for her coronation with William III, and said to have been worn by Queen Anne, is also handsomely ornamented.

The Crown called "King Edward's" is probably a model from memory of an older crown, namely, that which had been preserved at Westminster. It was made at the time of the restoration of Charles II, who was crowned with it, and has set the pattern for all the succeeding crowns of English Sovereigns. The crosses and *fleurs-de-lis*, and the arches over the cap, seem to be an attempt to imitate work of

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about the middle of the fifteenth century, when "the close crown" first appears on the Great Seal of Henry VI. A crown, described as "King Alfred's," was preserved at Westminster till 1649. It was "of gould wyerworke," and weighed 79 ounces.

The Prince of Wales's Coronet.

The Orb, placed in the Sovereign's right hand at the coronation, and borne afterwards in the left, is of gold, 6 inches in diameter, and it has bands set with jewels, and a diamond cross at the summit. It was made for the coronation of Charles II, the older orb, of plain gold, weighing 1 lb. 5¼ oz., having been broken up.

The Royal Sceptre, with the Cross, is of gold, 2 feet 9 inches in length, the pommel ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds; described as "St. Edward's" in the commission to Vyner, in 1661. It has been altered by the substitution of oak-leaves for *fleurs-de-lis*, near the head.

The Sceptre, with the Dove, of gold, 3 feet 7 inches in length, banded with diamonds, is emblematic of mercy. It was made in 1661 after the old pattern.

St. Edward's Staff, a large gold sceptre, 4 feet 7 inches in length, surmounted by a mound and cross which is supposed to contain a fragment of the true cross. At the foot is a steel spike. It seems probable that this "staff" is modelled exactly after the ancient sceptre long preserved at Westminster, and repaired for the coronation of Charles I.

The Queen's Sceptre, gold, of rich workmanship, made for the Royal Consort.

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The Ivory Sceptre, made for the coronation of Mary of Modena, the second wife of James II, surmounted by a white onyx dove.

The Sceptre of Queen Mary II, probably made, like the crown above-mentioned, for the joint coronation of King William and Queen Mary. It resembles the sceptre with the dove. It was found concealed behind the wainscotting of the old Jewel Office in 1814.

The Bracelets, or Armillæ, are of gold, and were re-enamelled for the coronation of George IV. They are ornamented with roses, *fleurs-de-lis*, and harps, and edged with pearls, and were made in 1661 for Charles II. The older bracelets, preserved till 1649, were 7 ounces in weight, and were each set with three rubies and six pearls.

The Gold Spurs, carried by an official at every coronation, and placed upon the altar. The old spurs, formerly preserved at Westminster, were apparently of silver-gilt. They were an emblem of Knighthood, and the King's heels were touched with them by a nobleman who kneeled down for the purpose immediately after the anointing. They were then replaced on the Altar.

The Ampulla, a vessel for containing the consecration oil, at the anointing in the coronation ceremony. It is in the form of a bird—described variously as a pelican, an eagle, and a dove—with expanding wings, made of gold in 1661, after the ancient pattern. The head is unscrewed to receive the oil, which can be poured through the beak into

The Anointing Spoon, one of the few objects remaining of the old regalia. It is of solid gold,

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the bowl beautifully chased in the style of the time of Henry III; the handle enamelled and set with jewels. A silver anointing spoon was made by Vyner, and is charged for in his accounts, £2. It may have been used instead of the precious relic here preserved, and was the only object in the new coronation regalia not made of gold.

The *Saltcellar*, or "Salt," of gold, richly jewelled, is said to be a model of the White Tower. Such models were set on the tables at state banquets, and served to mark seats of honour, "above, or below, the Salt."

Twelve smaller Golden Saltcellars, with spoons.

Two Gold Tankards.

The Silver-Gilt Fountain, present to Charles II by the Corporation of Plymouth, is a kind of rose-water dish, and is very beautifully embossed and chased.

Silver-Gilt Communion Service, for the Tower Chapel, including a large salver engraved with the subject of "The Last Supper," a chalice, and the Maundy dish, used at Whitehall for the Queen's alms on Maundy Thursday.

Baptismal Font, of silver gilt, used at the christening of the Royal children.

The Sword of Mercy, or "Curtana," the blade 40 inches long, the point blunt, in a velvet scabbard. This represents the sword of St. Edward, in whose day and later a knight frequently gave his sword a name; the sword of King Richard I was named "Caliburn," and was fabled to be the same worn by King Arthur, and celebrated in poetry as "Excalibur." The word *curtana*, in medieval Latin, may refer to the shortened blade

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or point. Curtana was carried by the Earl of Chester at the coronation of Henry III. This is the "Sword of State" borne immediately before the Sovereign, two other swords being borne at certain ceremonies on either hand. These are—

The Swords of Justice, ecclesiastical and civil, and all three are in velvet scabbards with gold ornaments. Swords of State were sometimes blessed by the Pope and sent to English as well as to other European Sovereigns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Edward IV received one from Sixtus IV in 1478; Julius II sent one to Henry VII; and Leo X sent another to Henry VIII, which was in the Tower in the reign of James I, and was described as a "greate twoe handed sworde, garnyshed with sylvar and guylte."

The other objects shown in this chamber are of a more ordinary character. A model of the Koh-i-noor, in its original setting, as it came from India, before cutting, is in the central case. The series of insignia of the British Orders of Knighthood serve as standards with which decorations may be compared. Here are the collar, garter with its motto, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense,*" star and "George," or badge of St. George and the dragon; the ensigns of the first, most ancient and most illustrious order of Chivalry now extant. Near them are the jewels of the Orders of the Thistle (for Scotland), the Bath, St. Michael and St. George, the Star of India, and the Victoria Cross.

Emerging from the Wakefield Tower and the Jewel House we ascend a slope towards the high level of the Inner Ward. On our right is a guard-

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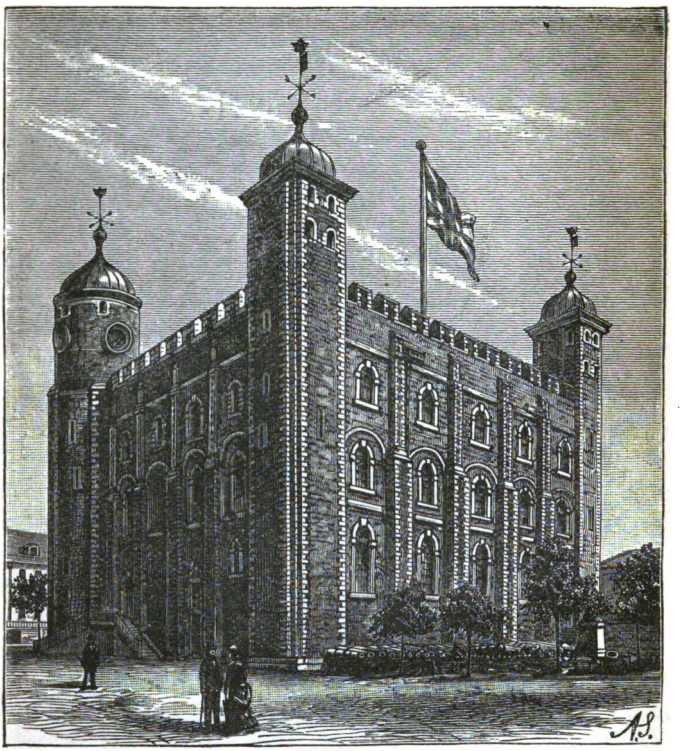
To face p. **29.**



WHITE TOWER FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

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house, where formerly stood Cold Harbour Tower, the name of which is unexplained. Behind it was the Royal treasure-house, forming with the south side of the Keep and portions of the palace, or domestic apartments of the Sovereign, a small courtyard, of which some few traces may still be seen in the newly uncovered foundations. In this court was the "King's Hall," in which Queen Anne Boleyn was tried and condemned, May 15th, 1536. (See below, *Biographical Notices*, p. 56.) This hall would have been on our right hand as we approach the doorway, made in the reign of Henry VIII, which admits the visitor to the interior of

The White Tower.

William the Conqueror, before he entered London in 1066, formed a camp eastward of the city walls, probably on part of the site now occupied by the Tower. The walls were here very strong, and comprised two great bastions of brickwork, which had been rebuilt by King Alfred in 885 on an ancient Roman foundation. These facts must be kept in mind, as they account for the modern attributions of this great fortress, sometimes to the West Saxon King, sometimes to Julius Cæsar himself. Around the base of the White Tower numerous fragments and vestiges of these older buildings may be traced by an acute and accustomed eye, but the magnificent pile before us owes its architecture and its origin to neither Roman nor Saxon, but to the exigencies of the Norman system of fortification, a system which may be held to have reached its highest development under

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Richard I. The works were begun by William I immediately after his coronation, and consisted at first, no doubt, of a palisade and a ditch. The Keep was not undertaken till more than ten years had elapsed, and the advantages of the site, as at once protecting and controlling the trade and port and city of London, had been fully tried. Gundulf, a monk of Bec, in Normandy, was selected by the King as architect, and shortly after his arrival in England was made Bishop of Rochester, and consecrated at Canterbury by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1077 (see below, p. 133). He built part of the Cathedral of his see, and soon afterwards commenced operations at the Tower, probably in 1078, a date which we may look upon as the earliest possible to assign to the founding of this the most famous castle in England. As Bishop Gundulf lived till 1108, Mr. George Clark (the greatest modern authority on these subjects, to whose labours all future students of *Mediæval Military Architecture* will be indebted) is of opinion that before his death in the reign of Henry I, he saw the Keep completed, and had probably made some progress with the surrounding walls of the enclosure, the domestic buildings or palace, and the Wakefield Tower, which must then have stood close to the water's edge. In 1091 the works were damaged by a storm, but were so far advanced in August, 1100, that they were thought strong enough to receive their first State prisoner, Ralf Flambard, Bishop of Durham. That this estimate was incorrect is proved by the Bishop's escape in the following February, when, carrying his pastoral staff with him, he escaped. The rope was tied, it

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is stated, to the mullion of a window on the south side, one of the windows which may yet be seen near the head of the staircase by which the visitor ascends, but, proving too short, the Bishop had to jump for his life and was injured by the fall. Nevertheless, he got safe away. During the wars between Stephen and Matilda, Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, was constable, and obtained a grant of the city itself from the Empress. When he fell into Stephen's hands, the Tower formed his ransom, and the city recovered its liberty.

At this time the buildings comprised the White Tower, the palace court on the south side, the Wakefield Tower close to the Thames, a surrounding wall, part of which still defines the Inner Ward, and a ditch. A line drawn from the last bastion of London Wall, at what is still called the postern on Tower Hill, to the Thames, would pass through both the Keep and the Wakefield Tower, thus showing how largely the position of the first buildings was determined by the remains of the Roman and Saxon defences of the city. The effect produced on the minds of the citizens is reflected in a legend reported in William FitzStephen's contemporary life of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Becket). He says that on the east of London stands the Palatine Tower (*arx palatina*), "a fortress both large and strong, the walls and court rising upon the deepest foundation, built with mortar tempered by the blood of beasts." During the whole reign of Henry II works were carried on here, and we read of the building of a kitchen, of royal chambers, and of gateways from the prison.

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When Richard I went on the Crusade, the Tower was placed in the charge of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, the Pope's Legate, and joint Justiciary with the Bishop of Durham. Longchamp was not content with the old limits, and added greatly to the size of the enclosure (see below, *The Tower as a Fortress*, p. 135); but in 1191 he was besieged by the Barons of the realm and the citizens of London, at whose head was John, afterwards King. The Tower was held in pledge for the complete fulfilment of the provisions of Magna Charta in 1215 and 1216. In 1240 the windows of the Chapel of St. John in the Keep were glazed with coloured glass, representing sacred subjects, and then "all the old wall around the aforesaid Tower" was whitewashed. From this time on the Keep begins to be known by its familiar name of "The White Tower." In the reign of Edward III *La Blanche Tour* is the courtly French form, while, by a curious coincidence, one of his children, a little princess, who died in 1340, was known from the place of her birth, here, as Blanche de la Tour. The French and Scottish wars brought many illustrious prisoners to London, and it seems probable that some of them were lodged in the White Tower; but we are only certain of Charles, Duke of Orleans, taken at Agincourt, as he is represented in a contemporary illuminated manuscript, as using the state apartments in the White Tower. It is therefore not improbable that David King of Scots, and John, King of France, may have also been lodged in them, at least for a time. It was in these apartments that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was living when he determined to set

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aside his brother's children, and from the Council Chamber he sent Lord Hastings to the block, on the parade ground below. The records are almost silent as to the reception of prisoners in the White Tower; but the two Mortimers were here in 1324; and from the inscriptions in the crypt of St. John's Chapel, formerly called Queen Elizabeth's Armoury, it seems certain that some of the Kentish rebels taken with Wyatt in 1554 were lodged there. In 1663, and later years down to 1709, extensive structural repairs were carried out under the superintendence of Sir Christopher Wren, who replaced nearly all the Norman window openings with classical arches—under the impression, possibly, that he was restoring them to the original pattern. Four of the older windows still remain on the south side. The whole Keep has been greatly improved in appearance by the removal of the unsightly sheds and galleries, chiefly used for the exhibition of the collection of ancient armour, which disfigured the south side. The arms are now arranged more commodiously in the principal apartments.

The plan of the White Tower is not square The western side to which we approach measures 107 feet from north to south. The south side measures 118 feet from west to east. It has only two right-angled corners, for on the north east is the great circular clock turret, and on the south-east the apse of the chapel projects so as to form a very curious and striking peculiarity. From floor to battlement the height is 90 feet, but varies externally on account of the slope of the ground on which it stands, which rises 25 feet from south to

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north, and the basement which is above the ground level at one end is on it at the other. The original entrance was probably on the south side and high above the ground, being reached, as usual in Norman castles, by an external stair which could be removed in time of danger. Two such openings on the second floor have been built up, and it is supposed that they, or one of them, led into a "fore building" of some kind, and thence gave access to the palace, the chief apartments of which closely adjoined the Keep on that side. The door by which the visitor enters was cut through the solid masonry in Tudor times in order to reach the Norman stair in the south wall; and other modern openings are formed in the north wall, one of them at a considerable height. Originally there was one staircase down from the first floor to the basement with no external openings, and two other stairs led up to the roof. The object of the architect was clearly not to facilitate but to impede ingress, and the resident who knew his way through the narrow passages to the stair head must have had a great advantage over a pursuer who entered forcibly, and for the first time. The plan of the floors and apartments is, however, of the most simple character. The whole building, from floor to summit, is crossed by a wall which divides it into a western and an eastern portion. The *western portion* consists of four chambers, one over the other, the lowest being a cellar and store-room. The floors are not vaulted, and the walls, of enormous but slightly diminishing thickness, are pierced externally with windows, originally mere loopholes, except in the uppermost storey. In

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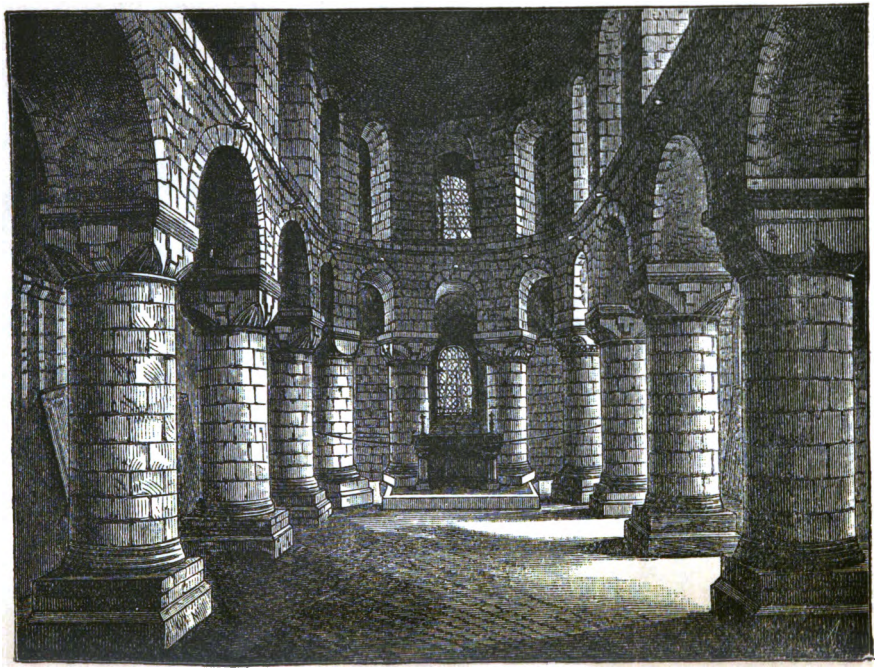
To face p. 35.



ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL.—INTERIOR.

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the eastern or interior walls are archways in the cross wall communicating with the other portion of the building. In the basement there is one such opening. In the second stage there are five archways, two of them evidently doorways, the others perfectly plain, and intended probably to be boarded up, or to be hung with curtains. There are five similar openings in the cross wall, on the next or third stage, and five more in the upper or principal stage, as well as five window openings looking westward, across Tower Green, towards the face of the Beauchamp Tower. The *eastern portion* consists, on each floor, of two apartments, of which those which lie towards the north are very similar to the western chambers, one over the other, without vaulted floors; but the southern chambers are of a wholly different character, being only three in number, but all vaulted. These constitute a sub-crypt in the basement, known as "Little Ease," a crypt on the second stage, known as Queen Elizabeth's Armoury, in a recess on the north side of which, and quite windowless, is a small cell, 8 feet by 10 feet, in the wall, intended perhaps for a secret store, perhaps for an oratory, perhaps for the sleeping apartment of a chaplain, but used at least once in later times for the safe keeping of prisoners as mentioned already. Above the crypt, and rising through two storeys almost to the roof, is

The Royal Chapel of St. John,

The largest and most complete example of a castle chapel of the Norman period now remaining in England. It consists of a plain vaulted

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The Banqueting Chamber,

which is the smaller of the two mentioned above, and is on the east side. It measures 64 feet from north to south, and 32 feet from west to east. Its floor is on a level with that of the chapel, with which it communicates by a doorway into the north aisle. In the east wall is a fire-place, till recently the only one known to exist in a Norman Keep. A second and a third have since been found; but it is easy to see that the whole building is designed rather for security than for comfort, and must have been only used as a residence in times of danger. We next ascend to

The State Floor,

in which were the principal apartments communicating with the gallery or clerestorey of the Chapel. The whole Tower is surrounded at this stage with a vaulted mural passage, 3 feet only in width except where it expands into the triforium of the Chapel. The larger room on this floor,

The Council Chamber,

is the scene of the condemnation of William, Lord Hastings, by Gloucester. (See below, p. 86, and Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Act III.) The chamber is 95 feet by 40 feet, and is now, with the adjoining and smaller chamber eastward, occupied by the vast collection known for two centuries or more as

The Tower Armoury.

This is described in the Appendix on p. 143.

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The Parade.

The Waterloo Barracks, built in 1845, on the site of the storehouses burnt in 1841, are immediately opposite. The Officers' Quarters, nearly at right angles, are to the eastward, and between the two a glimpse is obtained of what from about 1641 was the Jewel Tower (see above, p. 20). Hence it was that Blood made his famous attempt to steal the crown in 1671.

On the left, under the western face of the White Tower, is an extensive collection of cannon and mortars of all ages. Among them observe the wrought-iron breech-loading ship guns, with their chambers, recovered from the wreck of the ship-of-war "Mary Rose," lost at Spithead in 1545; the calibre is 7 inches. This is an example of the "bar-and-hoop" guns, made by welding together longitudinal strips or bars of iron on a core and afterwards driving over them cylinders or hoops in a heated state. The principle of breech-loading, which has been so many centuries in coming to perfection, was never wholly lost sight of by inventors from the period of these guns until now. One of the examples here retains the stone shot with which it was loaded at the time the "Mary Rose" went down.

Triple gun of brass, breech-loading, externally rectangular, with the name of the maker, "Petrus Bavde," living in 1543.

Brass gun, dated 1546: made by John and Robert Owen, at their foundry in Houndsditch. There are several other examples of the same makers and the same period.

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Brass gun of 1601 : made by Richard Phillips. It bears an inscription recording that it had been captured in Cochin China by Chinese troops at an unknown date. It was taken at Chusan by the British forces in 1842.

Two chased brass guns (preserved in the Horse Armoury), made for William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, son of Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne. He died in 1700.

Brass gun recovered from the "Royal George," sunk at Spithead in 1782.

There are many other guns of English make, which will repay examination by students of artillery.

Among the French cannon observe two triple guns of brass, made for Louis XIV and adorned with his badges and devices, and the significant motto, "*Ultima ratio regum*" (the last argument of kings).

Brass gun belonging to the French "Compagnie des Indes" in 1755, and captured by the British forces at Seringapatam.

Finely ornamented brass guns, cast at Avignon for Napoleon I, and bearing his cypher and crown.

The Spanish examples comprise two small brass guns, dated 1647, and cast partly in the form of lions. A Portuguese gun of 1594 was captured at Hyderabad in 1843. Other examples were captured in Indian fortresses, in Turkish frigates, from Russia, from Malta, from the West Indies, and many other places where the British arms have been victorious.

The earliest English mortars date from 1686, and were made for George Legge, Lord Dart-

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Tower Green. Queen's House. Yeoman Gaoler's Lodgings

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mouth, Master-General of the Ordnance from 1681 to 1689. He is commemorated by a bastion of the Outer Ward, still known as Legge's Mount. Observe a mortar presented by the officers of the Ordnance, and used by William III at the siege of Namur in 1695. A fine French mortar is still older, as it was cast by Keller, a Swiss founder, at Douay, for Louis IV, in 1683.

Some examples of bar, chain, grape, and stone shot are within the Armoury.

Tower Green.

Turning westward the visitor faces the Beauchamp Tower; next to which, on his left, he will observe the lodgings of the Yeoman Gaoler. It was probably in this house that Lady Jane Grey lived before her execution; as from its windows she saw her husband go forth from the adjoining Beauchamp Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and his headless body brought back "in a carre" for burial in the Chapel of St. Peter, while the scaffold was being prepared for herself, close to the very spot on which we are now standing. The chapel is on our right, facing across the Green, the Lieutenant's Lodgings, now called the "Queen's House," on our extreme left. The space between was in the sixteenth century partly the "Lieutenant's Garden," partly "the Green," and partly the burial ground of St. Peter's Chapel. It is now planted with trees, and, by special command of Her Majesty, the small square space in the centre, on which the scaffold stood, has been marked off and railed in. The exact spot where Lord Hastings was beheaded in 1483 is not known, but it was

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probably the same. Six executions took place on this spot between 1536 and 1601. They were as follows (for further particulars, see below, *Biographical Notices*):—

1536. Queen Anne (Boleyn), second wife of King Henry VIII: born before 1509, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; created Marchioness of Pembroke, 1st September, 1532; married, 25th January, 1533; crowned, June, 1533; tried and condemned within the Tower, 15th May, 1536; beheaded with a sword, by the executioner of Calais, 19th May, 1536; and buried in the chancel of St. Peter's Chapel, in an old arrow chest, the same day.

1541. Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, widow of Sir Richard Pole, K.G., and daughter of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. She was born about 1475; restored to the earldom of Salisbury (which had been a title of her brother, Edward, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, beheaded 1499) in 1513; attainted by Act of Parliament, 1539; beheaded, 27th May, 1541, and buried in the Chapel of St. Peter.

1542. Queen Katharine (Howard), fifth wife of Henry VIII: born 1520, daughter of Lord Edmund Howard; married, August, 1540; attainted by Act of Parliament, 11th February, and be-

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headed 13th February, 1542. The body was buried in St. Peter's Chapel.

1542. Jane, Viscountess Rochford, widow of George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, brother of Queen Anne (Boleyn); daughter of Henry, first Lord Morley; married, 1526; attainted with Queen Katharine (Howard), beheaded the same day, 13th February, 1542; and buried in St. Peter's Chapel.

1554. Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Henry, Duke of Suffolk: born about 1535; married Lord Guildford Dudley; proclaimed Queen, 10th July, 1553; tried and condemned, 12th November, 1553; beheaded, 12th February, 1554, and her body buried with that of her husband in St. Peter's Chapel.

1601. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex: born, 10th November, 1567; succeeded his father as Earl of Essex, 22nd September, 1576; tried and condemned, 19th February, beheaded 25th February, 1601, and buried in St. Peter's Chapel.

Turning now to the right (north) we face the Chapel which has been so often named already. The interior, which presents few architectural features of interest, is *not shown to the public*. Besides the six burials mentioned above, the following should be noted as having taken place in the Chapel (see Mr. Doyne Bell's *The Chapel in the Tower*, from which most of these particulars are taken):—

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1534. Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earl of Kildare.
1535. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.
1535. Sir Thomas More.
1536. George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.
1540. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.
1549. Thomas, Lord Seymour, of Sudeley.
1551. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.
1552. Sir Ralph Vane.
1552. Sir Thomas Arundel.
1553. John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.
1554. Lord Guildford Dudley.
1554. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.
1572. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
1592. Sir John Perrott.
1595. Philip, Earl of Arundel.
1613. Sir Thomas Overbury.
1614. Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton.
1632. Sir John Elliott.
1680. William, Viscount Stafford.
1683. Arthur, Earl of Essex.
1685. James, Duke of Monmouth.
1689. George, Lord Jeffreys.
1703. John Rotier.
1710. Edward, Lord Griffin.
1746. William, Marquis of Tullibardine.
1746. William, Earl of Kilmarnock.
1746. Arthur, Lord Balmerino.
1747. Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat.

The last burial in the chapel was that of Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Constable of the Tower, in 1871.

The Chapel of St. Peter "ad Vincula" is generally reckoned a Chapel Royal, and the Tower precinct is in charge of the chaplain. It was pro-

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bably first built towards the end of the reign of Henry II, and was appropriately, but no doubt unintentionally, dedicated on the well-known festival of the Latin Church which falls on the 1st August. It is first mentioned in the records in the reign of King John; Edward III, and afterwards Edward IV, intended to make it a collegiate church, with a Dean and Canons, but the scheme was never carried out: and Edward VI, by letters patent, 1st April, 1550, subjected it to episcopal supervision. This order was confirmed by Queen Mary, 2nd March, 1554. But so far as is known no Bishop has claimed to exercise episcopal rights within the precinct. In 1512 the old chapel was burnt, and the present one was built about 1532; it was not long completed before the burial of the first victims of Henry VIII, and was not a century old when Stow, the London historian, wrote of it that "here lieth before the high altar in St. Peter's Church, two dukes between two queens, to wit, the duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland, between Queen Anne and Queen Katharine, all four beheaded." Macaulay, in his *History of England*, says of it (i, 628): "Thither have been carried through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who have been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of Senates, and the ornaments of courts;" and again, "In truth there is no sadder spot on earth than this little cemetery."

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seems to have formed, in Tudor times, the centre of a group of convenient places of detention for state prisoners. It is connected by the curtain wall and parapet of the Inner Ward with the Devereux Tower on the north, and the Bell Tower on the south; the Constable's residence, now called the "Queen's House," and the house of the Yeoman Gaoler, and other officials having been built along and within the same line of defence. The stones carved with prisoners' names and inscriptions in the chambers of the Beauchamp Tower are very numerous and interesting.

Although originally built for defensive purposes only, this tower has been almost continuously inhabited, and was in recent times much disguised by sheds and wooden additions, and by having been used by the officers' mess, when some alterations were made to render it more convenient. In 1854 it was completely restored under the care of Mr. Salvin, and is now chiefly used for the exhibition of the inscriptions, some having been removed to the chief chamber from the more remote parts of the building, so as to be more generally accessible to visitors. All have been carefully numbered, and a catalogue has been published.

Beauchamp, the surname of the family of Thomas, third Earl of Warwick, may have been given to this tower on account of his imprisonment by Richard II in 1397, but it was also sometimes known as the "Cobham Tower." Warwick was released two years later by Henry IV, and it is curious to observe that the most interesting

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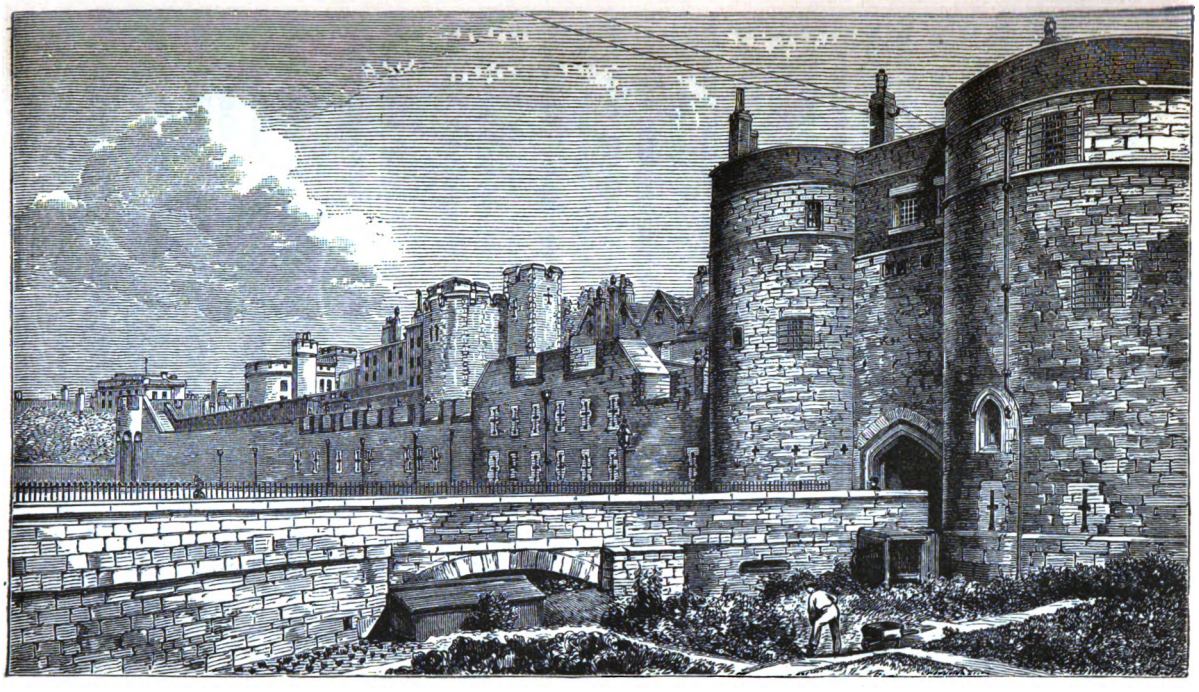

Legge's Mount. | Devereux Tower. | Beauchamp Tower. | Yeoman Gaoler's House. | Site of Drawbridge. | Gateway of Byward Tower.

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associations of the building should be connected with his successors in the earldom, but of a different name and family. The Beauchamp Tower is semicircular in plan, and projects 18 feet beyond the face of the wall. (See below, *The Tower as a Fortress*, p. 139.) It consists of three storeys, of which the middle one is on a level with the rampart on which it formerly opened. The whole building is in the style of the time of Edward III. The interior is not vaulted, and the principal floor is reached by a short passage from the door, and a well stair, 9 feet in diameter, south of the main building, rising to the battlements and communicating with each storey and with the parapet on the curtain wall of the Inner Ward.

The inscriptions commence near the doorway, on the ground floor, No. 1 being on the left hand side as we enter. It commemorates "Walter Paslew," and is dated 1569 and 1570. The carver is not otherwise known to fame. No. 2 is also on the ground floor, ROBART DVDLEY. (See below, *Notices of Eminent Prisoners*, p. 67.) This was the fifth son of John, Duke of Northumberland, and next brother to Guildford Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey. When his father was brought to the block in 1553 he and his brothers remained in prison here, the Lieutenant of the Tower being allowed 6*s.* 8*d.* a day each for their diet. In 1555 he was liberated with his elder brother Ambrose, afterwards created Earl of Warwick, and his younger brother Henry. In the first year of Queen Elizabeth he was made Master of the Horse and elected a Knight of the Garter. In 1563 he was created Earl of Leicester.

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He died at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, in 1588. (See below, *Biographical Notices*, p. 70.)

No. 8. On the left at the entrance of the great chamber is a carved cross, with other religious emblems, with the name and arms of PEVEREL, and the date 1570. It is supposed to have been cut by a Roman Catholic prisoner confined during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

No. 13. Over the fire-place this inscription in Latin:—"The more suffering for Christ in this world the more glory with Christ in the next," &c. This is signed "Arundel, June 22, 1587." This was Philip Howard, son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1573. (See *Biographical Notices*, p. 102.) Philip inherited from his maternal grandfather the earldom of Arundel in 1580. He was a staunch Roman Catholic, and was constantly under suspicion of the Government, by which in 1584 he was confined in his own house for a short time. On his liberation he determined to quit the country, but was committed to the Tower in 1585, and died in custody ten years later, having refused release on condition of forsaking his religion. His body was buried in his father's grave in the Chapel of St. Peter, but was eventually removed to Arundel. He left other inscriptions, one in the window (79), and one on the staircase (91), dated 1587. (See *Biographical Notices*, p. 53.)

No. 14. On the right of the fire-place is an elaborate piece of sculpture, which will be examined with peculiar interest as a memorial of the four brothers Dudley: Ambrose (created Earl of Warwick 1561), Guildford (beheaded 1554), Robert

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(created Earl of Leicester 1563), and Henry (killed at the siege of St. Quintin, 1558), carved by the eldest, John (created Earl of Warwick), who died in 1554. Under a bear and a lion supporting a ragged staff is the name "JOHN DVDLE," and surrounding them is a wreath of roses (for Ambrose), acorns (for Robert), in allusion to the Latin, *robur*, the oak, gillyflowers (for Guildford), and honeysuckle (for Henry). Below are four lines, one of them incomplete, alluding to the device and its meaning. They run as follows :—

"Yow that these beasts do wel behold and se,
May deme withe ease wherfore here made they be
Withe borders wherin . . . .
4 Brothers names who list to serche the grovnd."

The defective line was probably intended to be—

Withe borders wherin *eke there may be found.*

The carver, who showed much taste in design, was the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland. He fell ill and was allowed, at the request of his wife, Anne, the daughter of his father's rival, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, to retire to Penshurst, his seat in Kent, where he died 21st October, 1554, a little more than eight months after his brother Guildford, and his sister-in-law, Jane, had been beheaded. (See below, p. 82.)

No. 33 is one of several inscriptions relating to the Poole or Pole family (see also Nos. 45, 47, 52, 56, 57). They were the sons of the Countess of Salisbury, by Sir Richard Pole, K.G. No. 45 contains the name of "GEFFRYE POOLE 1562." He was the second son and gave evidence against his elder brother, Lord Montagu, who was beheaded in 1539. (See below, *Biographical Notices*, p. 114.

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No. 48. "IANE." This interesting inscription, repeated also in the window (85), has always been supposed to refer to the Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and wife of Guildford Dudley, fourth son of the Duke of Northumberland. A second repetition in another part of the room was unfortunately obliterated in the last century when a new window was made to fit this chamber for a mess-room. It is sometimes, but erroneously, supposed that the name was carved by this "Queen of ten days" herself, but it is improbable that she was ever imprisoned in the Beauchamp Tower. She is known to have lived in the house of Partridge, the Gaoler. It is much more probable that the two inscriptions were placed on the wall either by Lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, or by his brother, whose large device has been described above. (See below, *Biographical Notices*, p. 69.)

No. 66. In the window is the rebus, or monogram, of Thomas Abel: upon a bell is the letter A. This was Dr. Abel, a faithful servant to Queen Katharine of Arragon, first wife of King Henry VIII. He acted as her chaplain during the progress of the divorce, and by his determined advocacy offended the King. For denying the supremacy he was condemned and executed in 1540.

The visitor who has time to spare will find many other records of this kind in the Beauchamp Tower, the oldest of all being the name of "Thomas Talbot 1462" (89), supposed to have been concerned in the Wars of the Roses.

There are similar inscriptions in the Bell Tower the Devereux Tower, and in fact wherever persons

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able to write their names were detained; but with the exception of these Dudley carvings, (2, 14, 48, 85), and the signature of Philip, Earl of Arundel (13, 79, 91), and the inscription of the Countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, in the Queen's House, very few can be assigned with certainty to the more famous prisoners.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER.

NOTE.

It has been thought best to omit the names of prisoners who were not of the first importance, so as to give space for longer accounts than would otherwise have been possible of the more interesting personages. The authorities chiefly consulted have been Bayley's *Tower of London*, second edition, 1830; Mr. Doyne Bell's *Chapel in the Tower*, 1877; and Mr. James E. Doyle's *Official Baronage*, three volumes, 1886. Other authorities are acknowledged when referred to in their places, but a subject so popular has produced an immense number of books, in many of which it is not always possible to trace the original source of information.

ARUNDEL.

Richard Fitz-Alan, sixth Earl of Arundel, having been concerned with the Duke of Gloucester and others in opposition to the policy of Richard II, and having been one of the chief agents in obtaining the condemnation of the King's life-long friend, Sir Simon Burley, in 1388, was himself condemned to death in 1397, and was beheaded on the same spot upon Tower Hill which he had appointed for the execution of Burley nine years before. (See Burley, p. 63.)

ARUNDEL.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, born 1557, was the only son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk (see p. 102). His mother was the heiress of the Fitz-Alans, and he was summoned to Parliament in 1580, in their Earldom. Shortly afterwards he was suspected of belonging to the party of Mary Queen of Scots. In 1584 Arundel was kept a prisoner in his

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own house, refusing to be liberated on the terms proposed—that he should attend Queen Elizabeth at the services of the reformed church, bearing the sword of state. Several times he was examined by the Privy Council, but as nothing could be proved against him he was set at liberty. He attempted to cross over to France, but was betrayed and taken back to London, and was lodged in the Tower, where he remained for a year. He was then summoned before the Star Chamber, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £10,000 to the Queen, and to be imprisoned during Her Majesty's pleasure. While living in the Beauchamp Tower he cut an inscription, still to be seen near the window, and another above the fireplace in his room. On the 14th April, 1589, he was tried at the Court of King's Bench. Tierney thus describes Arundel's appearance:—His tall and comely figure, which still bespoke the strength and elasticity of youth, contrasted strongly with his sunken eye and sallow countenance. He was dressed in a wrought velvet gown, furred with martens, laid about with gold lace, and buttoned with gold buttons; a black satin doublet, a pair of velvet hose, and a high black hat on his head. No charge could be proved against the Earl, but he was found guilty of desiring to dethrone the Queen. Mr. Doyne Bell says: "Arundel was then asked if he had anything further to say, why sentence of death should not pass upon him, when he only used the same words which his father had done before him in the same place: 'God's will be done!' Sentence being pronounced, he desired leave to speak with his wife, that he might see his young son, who had been born since his imprisonment; that he might have the liberty to speak with his stewards, who had the accounts of his estate, and that his debts might be discharged. He likewise humbly desired the Queen would take his young son into her favour and patronage." Arundel was taken back to prison, and though the sentence was never carried out he seems to have been treated with much harshness, and his wife was not allowed to visit him. In August, 1595, an attempt was made by a discharged servant to poison him, and it seems likely that his death on the 19th October—according to Mr. Bell—but 19th November, according to Mr. Doyle—of the same year was caused by foul play. He had been ten years in the Tower. His body was at first buried beside that of his father in the Chapel of St. Peter, but was removed in 1624 to Arundel.

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ANNE ASKEW.

Anne Askew, the celebrated martyr, was the daughter of Sir W. Askew, and was born in Yorkshire. Over-persuaded by her father she married Kyme, a violent Roman Catholic, with whom she lived unhappily. She became a professed Protestant and went to London, where she had many friends of the reformed religion, and amongst others Queen Katharine Parr. Her husband had her watched, and soon found an occasion for denouncing her as a heretic.

In March, 1545, Anne was summoned before an Inquest or Commission at Guildhall, and subjected to a long examination, when she displayed some intelligence and shrewdness, which, with her modest gentle demeanour, drew the admiration even of her enemies. Being remanded to the Compter, she was shortly afterwards brought before Bonner, Bishop of London, for examination. He exercised all his subtlety to entangle her in her replies, which he wrote in such a form as grossly to pervert their meaning. When he desired her to declare whether or not she would subscribe to his report, her answer was, "I believe as much thereof as is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and I desire that this sentence may be added to it." By the intercession of some powerful friends, Anne was released on the bail of her cousin, one Britayne, who, during the examination at which he was present, had entreated the Bishop not to set her weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom. Bayley says: "In a short time she was again taken into custody, and after undergoing two very long and severe examinations before the Council at Greenwich she was sent to confinement at Newgate, where she wrote some devotions and letters which show her to have been a woman of most extraordinary parts. She was at last tried at the Guildhall by the Commissioners appointed under the Act of the Six Articles, and condemned to suffer in the flames; but before the execution of this horrible decree she was conveyed to the Tower, where she was again examined by some of the Council with the view to extort information concerning the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Hertford, and some other ladies, who were suspected of favouring her opinions; but when it was found that neither promises nor entreaties could draw from her any confession whereby those persons might be brought under the lash of persecution the prisoner was taken into a dungeon and stretched upon the rack; and we are

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informed that Sir Richard Rich and Sir Thomas Wriothesley were not only present, but assisted in increasing her tortures." Anne Askew was shortly afterwards carried to Smithfield, and there burnt to ashes, together with three other martyrs in the same cause, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, who had been condemned at the same time, and had recanted, preaching a sermon in the presence of the Lord Mayor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, and a vast concourse of people. This shocking execution took place on the 16th July, 1546.

ANNE BOLEYN.

Queen Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, by the lady Elizabeth Howard, his wife, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. Anne was born before 1509, but the exact year is not known. She was brought up in France, returned to England in 1522, and became a Maid of Honour to Queen Katherine of Arragon in 1527. Shortly afterwards her father, who had been made Viscount Rochford in 1525, was advanced to the Earldoms of Wiltshire and Ormond. In June, 1532, she was styled Dame Anne Rochford, and in September of the same year was created Marchioness of Pembroke, with great ceremony, at Windsor Castle. These honours were owing to the admiration Henry felt for the beautiful Maid of Honour, and the history of his divorce from Katherine, and of the influence of the divorce question on the subsequent Reformation, are matters which belong to the history of England. On the 25th January, 1533, Henry VIII was married to the Marchioness of Pembroke, who was crowned Queen on the 1st of June in the same year. Jesse thus describes the procession:—"The young Queen was conducted by all the crafts of London from Greenwich to the Tower; the Lord Mayor's state barge led the way adorned by flags and pennants; it was preceded by a flat vessel full of ordnance on the deck of which a dragon pranced about furiously twisting his tail and belching out wild fire. The Mayor's was followed by fifty other barges. On his lordship's left hand was a raft with an artificial mountain having on its summit a wheel of gold whereon was perched a white falcon crowned and surrounded by garlands of white and red roses. This was the Queen's device. The cavalcade rowed down to Greenwich, where

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Anne, habited in cloth of gold, entered her barge and proceeded to the Tower amidst the shouts of the people and peals of ordnance from the ships which were anchored close in shore. On arriving at the fortress she was received by the Lord Chamberlain, and brought to the King, who met her at the postern and kissed her. She then turned to the Mayor, and having gracefully thanked him and the citizens for the honour they had done her, entered the Tower." In July the King and Queen went to Hampton Court, where Anne spent her time in banquetting, masques, and sports. Sir Thomas More, then a prisoner in the Tower, hearing of these revels said, "Alas! it pitieth me to think into what misery, poor soul, she will shortly come. These dances of hers will prove such dances that she will spurn our heads off like footballs, but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance." Meantime Anne played music with Henry, worked exquisite embroidery, and superintended the additions to Wolsey's Palace. She had several children, of whom only Elizabeth, afterwards Queen, survived. A famous tournament was held at Greenwich on May Day, 1535. By this time Henry had tired of Anne, and was entirely taken up by his fancy for Jane Seymour. A handkerchief belonging to the Queen fell from the balcony into the area below. Henry chose to interpret this as a sign to one of the household. Without any apparent cause he departed suddenly, and with but six attendants, to Westminster, where a Council was convened the same night, and on the following morning the Queen's brother, Lord Rochford, together with Henry Norris, William Brereton, and Sir Francis Weston, three officers of the King's household, and Mark Smeton, a musician, were arrested and committed to the Tower. "On the same afternoon," says Bayley, "as the Queen herself was coming towards London in a barge, she was met by her ungracious uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and other lords of the Council, and conveyed to the same fortress. In vain did she appeal to Heaven to attest her innocence, in vain did she beg to be previously permitted to see the King; all was answered with signs of disbelief, and she was hastened to the place of her imprisonment and death." She passed in through the Traitors' Gate, and was lodged in the same apartments that she had occupied at the time of her coronation.

On the 15th May Anne was brought to trial in the King's Hall in the palace in the Tower, on the charge of adultery

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and treason. She was allowed no counsel, but defended herself with so much ready wit and presence of mind that it was remarked that "had the peers given their verdict according to the expectations of the assembly she should have been acquitted; but they, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law, was chief, and wholly applying himself to the King's humour, pronounced her 'guilty.'" The sentence was that she should be either burnt or beheaded on the green within the Tower, "as His Majesty in his pleasure should think fit." Anne received her sentence with calmness, and lifting up her hands to heaven exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! Thou Who art the Way, the Truth, and the Life, knowest that I have not deserved this death." She then in a speech to the assembled lords asserted her entire innocence of the charges against her, and declared that she had always been a faithful and loyal wife to the King. Little time was given her for preparation. On the 19th May she was led to a scaffold erected on the green in front of the chapel. Among the persons present were the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, and the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London. It was remarked that she had never looked so beautiful as in this awful hour. Her sweetness and gentleness nearly unmanned the executioner of Calais, who had been specially brought over. Disraeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, quotes the following legend: "Anne Boleyn being on the scaffold would not consent to have her eyes covered with a bandage, saying that she had no fear of death. All that the divine who assisted at her execution could obtain from her was that she would shut her eyes. But as she was opening them at every moment the executioner could not bear their tender and mild glances. Fearful of missing his aim he was obliged to invent an expedient to behead the Queen. He drew off his shoes and approached her silently; while he was at her left hand another person advanced at her right who made a great noise in walking, so that this circumstance drawing the attention of Anne she turned her face from the executioner, who then was able to strike the fatal blow." A sword was the executioner's weapon on this occasion. It was observed that the eyes and lips moved after he had done his work. Though so much care was taken to provide an expert headsman, no coffin was ready, and in a wooden chest, used for arrows, the body and head were buried in the chancel of St.

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Peter's Chapel. The bones were found heaped together in a small space in 1876, and were carefully gathered, placed in a thick leaden case covered with oak, and reburied.

BRUCE.

In 1346, **David Bruce, King of Scotland,** and fifty other distinguished chiefs were taken after the battle of Neville's Cross. Bayley says:—"The Royal captive was conducted to London with every show of honour, under an escort of 20,000 men; he rode on a high black courser, and the streets of the metropolis through which he passed to the Tower were lined with all the companies of the City, clad in their respective liveries. He remained eleven years a prisoner in England, when, after many fruitless negociations for release, a ransom of a hundred thousand marks restored him to his freedom, and the sons of the principal nobility of Scotland were given to Edward as pledges for the payment of this enormous sum." In 1358, £2 12*s.* 9*d.* was paid for medicine for the King of Scots.

BUCKINGHAM.

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (son of Henry, second Duke of the Stafford family, beheaded 1483), was born February 3rd, 1478, and was descended from Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham and Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of King Edward III. Being restored to his father's title and estates in 1486, he became Lord High Constable of England in 1509, and one of the richest and most powerful noblemen of the time. Henry VIII held him in high favour. Being a rash and proud man he offended Cardinal Wolsey, who never forgave a slight. It is stated that umbrage was given to the Cardinal by the Duke when at a banquet Buckingham held a basin to the King, and as soon as His Majesty had washed, Wolsey dipped his hands in the water. This conduct appeared to the Duke so derogatory to his rank that he flung the contents of the ewer into the Cardinal's shoes; who, being highly incensed, menaced that he would stick upon the Duke's skirts. This threat, so runs the story, the Duke met by coming to Court soon after richly dressed, but without any skirts. When the King demanded the cause of so strange a fashion, the Duke replied that it was intended to prevent the Cardinal's design.

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In 1521 Wolsey's vengeance overtook him. It was alleged against him by one of his own servants that he reckoned himself next heir to the throne, and had contemplated the King's death. As a fact Buckingham, though he quartered the royal arms, placing them, by special license, before his own, and though he was nearly related to the King through his mother, Katharine Wydeville, sister to Henry's grandmother, he was very far from being next in succession. He was, however, put on his trial in Westminster Hall, on the 13th May, before a vast concourse, and condemned on the evidence of three of his servants and a monk, who, says Hall, "like a false hypocrite, had induced the Duke to treason by prophesying that he should be King of England."

Buckingham refused to ask for life; and on his return to the Tower declined to sit on the carpet and cushions which had been furnished as suitable to his rank. "When I came to Westminster," he said, "I was Lord High Constable and Duke of Buckingham, but now—poor Edward Bohun." That he should have called himself Bohun rather than Stafford is curious. His Earldoms of Hereford and Northampton came, through the Duchess of Gloucester, his ancestress, from the Bohun family.

On the following Friday, the 17th May, 1521, the Duke was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill, which was crowded with spectators, for he was very popular. He died calmly, acknowledging that he had incurred the King's anger, but denying that he was a traitor. His death is said to have created a profound sensation, and even foreign sovereigns were surprised that Henry should have sacrificed so noble a subject. The Emperor Charles V remarked, alluding to Wolsey's humble birth, that "a butcher's dog hath killed the finest buck in England." But Henry VIII lived to show his subjects that nearer relationship than Buckingham's, and the weakness of the other sex, could not protect the objects of his jealousy.

It may be worth while, as proving both the close connection subsisting by family ties among the prominent characters in the Wars of the Roses, and its fatal influence then and during the Tudor reigns, to observe that Buckingham's father, Henry, second Duke, was beheaded at Salisbury, 1483; his maternal uncle, the second Earl Rivers, was beheaded, 1483; his maternal grandfather, the first Earl Rivers, was beheaded, 1469; his father-in-law, the Earl of Northumber-

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land, was murdered in Yorkshire in 1489, the two previous earls having been killed in battle in 1455 and 1461. The first Duke of Buckingham of the Stafford family was killed in battle, 1460, and his father, the fifth Earl of Stafford, was also killed, at Northampton, in 1403. Besides these, he had among his nearest relatives, the Nevilles, the Hastingses, the Howards, and the Hungerfords: and his son, who was allowed the old Stafford title, married Ursula Pole, daughter of the Countess of Salisbury (see p. 114), beheaded in 1541.

BUCKINGHAM.

George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, was born at Wallingford House, the site of the present Admiralty, on the 30th January, 1627. His father was assassinated the following year. It would be impossible to follow him through all his adventures; suffice it to say, that when he indiscreetly returned to England in 1657, Cromwell being angry at his marriage with the daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, committed the Duke to the Tower. On the succession of Richard Cromwell, Buckingham was removed to Windsor Castle. Previous to Richard's abdication he was set at liberty. At the Restoration he recovered his property and was made a member of the Privy Council, Master of the Horse, &c. Handsome, graceful, and witty, he would have been an ornament to any Court, but that his character was as unlovely as his person was beautiful. Endless are the stories told of his buffoonery, extravagance, caprice, and restlessness. He begged the authorities for the command of a ship at the breaking out of the Dutch War, in 1665, but as he knew nothing about seamanship it was refused. He could never keep quiet, and was soon engaged in intrigues against the King, his friend. A proclamation was issued for Buckingham's arrest, but he contrived to keep himself in hiding, principally in London. At last, tired of being always in disguise, he delivered himself up to the Lieutenant, and Pepys says, "he presented himself at the gates of the Tower, and was conducted to the apartments which had been prepared for his reception." He was treated with great leniency. King Charles was too indolent to bear malice long, and on the Duke making "humble submission" he was restored to his place in the Council and continued his former disreputable life. Again he was sent to the Tower for a disgraceful quarrel with Lord Dorchester, but was released

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after a few days, and a fourth time imprisoned, but only for a few days, for arguing a matter with undue warmth in Parliament. The Duke had now gone through the greater part of his fortune, and at the death of Charles II retired from Court. James tried to convert Buckingham with singular want of success, for the old courtier was equal even to a controversy with a Jesuit. Every one knows Pope's description of the last illness of this celebrated man, beginning, "In the worst inn's worst room." The account of his last hours given by his servant, Brian Fairfax, is most pathetic. Buckingham died April 17th, 1688. The body was embalmed and interred in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster. He left no children, and his titles became extinct.

BURGH.

Hubert de Burgh, born about 1180, was one of the most famous men of his time. Mr. Green says: "Bred in the school of Henry II, he had little sympathy with the charter of national freedom. His conception of good government, like that of his master, lay in a wise personal administration, in the preservation of order and law; but he combined with this a thoroughly English desire for national independence, a hatred of foreigners, and a reluctance to waste English blood and treasure in Continental struggles. He was hampered by the constant interference of Rome." Mr. Doyle, in his *Official Baronage of England*, under the title of "Earl of Kent," gives a list of sixty important offices held by Hubert at different periods, amongst others that of Constable of the Tower. He belonged to the household of Richard I, was minister under John, and guardian to Henry III. He was one of the Commissioners who witnessed the signing of Magna Charta. Hubert defended Dover against Lewis of France when John fled to Winchester, and after the King's death still held the Castle for Henry III, although offered rich bribes by the French King to surrender. He obtained large grants of land from the Crown, and married Margaret, sister of the King of Scotland. A party headed by the Bishop of Winchester brought about his fall. He fled from his accusers to the Priory of Merton, in Surrey. Through the intercession of the Archbishop of Dublin, a promise of protection was given him, but Henry broke faith and had him lodged in the Tower. Matthew Paris tells us that Hubert "was loaded with

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chains and subjected to every hardship and insult that the malice of his enemies could devise." The Bishop of London threatened the King with excommunication if he would not restore Hubert to the sanctuary from which he had been dragged, so he was taken back and kept with great vigilance. Contemporary records say the wretched prisoner was allowed food but once a day, and then only a halfpenny worth of bread and a cup of ale; his books were taken from him, and intercourse with his friends forbidden. At last he was summoned to appear for judgment and not allowed even his daily meal until he had done so. Hubert was obliged, therefore, to choose between starvation and imprisonment, and, preferring the latter, was re-conveyed to the Tower loaded with chains. Political troubles now arose, and the Bishop of Winchester thought he could get Hubert into his power and finally be rid of him; but he managed by the help of his guards to escape, and again fly to the sanctuary. The warders took him to the Church of St. John, in Devizes. The King again tried to starve him out, but a party of his friends succeeded in carrying him off to Wales, where he joined the nobles who where endeavouring to get the wrongs of the people redressed. He was, with them, amnestied at Gloucester, and retired into private life. He died May 12th, 1243, and was buried in the Church of the Dominicans in Holborn.

When the friars removed, in 1276, to the new house in the city at the place still called after them "Blackfriars," the tomb of Hubert, who had been their great benefactor, was removed with it, and remained in the church till the dissolution.

BURLEY.

Sir Simon Burley, K.G., is said to have been the first prisoner from the Tower who was beheaded on Tower Hill. He had been in the service of the Black Prince, and was with Richard II from his youth. Richard's uncle, Gloucester, viewed his influence over the young King's mind with jealousy, and in 1388, during the ascendancy of Gloucester and his supporters, Derby and Arundel, he was formally tried and condemned, together with Sir John Beauchamp and Sir James Berners, all of them members of the King's household, and beheaded on Tower Hill. Nine years later, Richard, Earl of Arundel, to whom the condemnation of Burley was chiefly due, was himself beheaded on the same spot. (See above, p. 54.)

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CLARENCE.

George, Duke of Clarence, the next brother of Edward IV, was born in 1449, and shared in the Yorkist struggles and eventual success. He had not the same strength of character as his brothers, and was easily worked upon by his father-in-law, the great Earl of Warwick, "the King-maker." Edward forgave him at first, and on Warwick's death he obtained, in 1472, patents granting him the old Earldoms of which his wife was the elder co-heiress. (See Warwick, p. 129, and Salisbury, p. 114.) In this and other ways, one of which is said to have been the concealment of Lady Anne Neville, the younger co-heiress, he offended his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The lady was found disguised as a scullery-maid, so the story runs, and Gloucester married her in 1474. The King's mind was poisoned against Clarence, and upon some frivolous charge he was committed to the Tower, 16th January, 1478, and in the course of the month was brought to trial at the bar of the House of Lords on the charge of high treason. Edward IV pleaded against his brother in person. Clarence was accused of having conspired "the destruction and disinheriting of the King and his issue, and the subversion of the politic rule of the nation," and of having said that the King "wrought by necromancy, and used craft to poison his subjects such as he pleased." These and many other charges were brought against him and he was attainted and condemned to death. It has never been quite cleared up how he was put to death. Some said he was poisoned, others that he drowned himself in a butt of malmsey wine; others again that he was murdered by Richard. The secret execution, whatever form it took, was carried out February 18th, 1478, in the Bowyer Tower. Hall and other chroniclers assert that Edward deeply repented of his brother's death, and that whenever afterwards any person asked him to pardon a condemned criminal he used to exclaim, "O unfortunate brother, for whose life not one creature would make intercession!" Edward's family had good cause to echo this lament. While Clarence lived Richard was remote from the succession; his death removed the chief obstacle, as his children, a boy and a girl, were very young, as were the children of his elder brother, King Edward IV. (See Edward V.) Shakespeare (*Richard III*, Acts I and II) has made the death of Clarence the subject of some of his finest passages.

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DERWENTWATER.

On the 10th January, 1716, the rebel Lords, the Earls of **Derwentwater,** Nithsdale, and Carnwath, and the Lords Widrington, Kenmure, and Nairn, were brought for trial to Westminster Hall. The articles of impeachment were brought by the Commons to the bar of the House of Lords. The prisoners, surrounded by soldiers, were then led in. The Hall was crowded with thousands of spectators, and the peers and judges sat in their robes. A verdict of "Guilty" was returned, and on the 9th February the prisoners appeared again at the bar at Westminster Hall to receive their sentence. Much commiseration was felt for young Derwentwater. When asked whether he had anything to plead against his sentence he said: "the judgment which at once deprives me of my life and estate and completes the misfortunes of my wife and innocent children, is so heavy upon my mind that I am scarcely able to allege what may extenuate my offence, if anything can do it." Lord Nairn pleaded with emotion for his wife and twelve children.

The unfortunate men were condemned to die as traitors, and had been brought into London like common felons with their arms tied behind them and their horses led by soldiers. Great interest was made in behalf of the prisoners. Petitions were presented to both Houses of Parliament. Steele pleaded for them with his usual eloquence. The Earl of Nottingham, one of the Ministers, declared in their favour, but all that could be obtained was the respite of Carnwath and Widrington; and Nairn was saved by Lord Stanhope, who had been his schoolfellow at Eton. The escape of Lord Nithsdale is noticed at p. 99. The number of victims was thus reduced to two. Lady Cowper records in her *Diary* (p. 75), that Lord Derwentwater expected a reprieve, but that "the folly of his wife and relations in making the parliament meddle, did him a great deal of harm." Lord Stanhope says: "Derwentwater and Kenmure were brought to the scaffold which had been erected on Tower Hill, and which was all covered with black. Derwentwater suffered first: he was observed to turn very pale as he ascended the fated steps; but his voice was firm and his demeanour steady and composed. He passed some time in prayer; and then, by leave of the Sheriff, read a paper, drawn up in his own hand, declaring that he died a Roman Catholic—that he deeply

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repented his plea of guilty and expressions of contrition at his trial—and that he acknowledged none but King James III for his rightful sovereign." He then turned to the block, and viewed it closely, and finding in it a rough place that might hurt his neck, he bid the executioner chip it off. "This being done he prepared himself for the blow, by taking off his coat and waistcoat and laying down his head; and he told the executioner that the sign he should give to him to do his office would be repeating for the third time, 'Lord Jesus receive my soul!' At these words accordingly the executioner raised his axe, and severed the Earl's head with one blow. Thus died James Radcliffe, third and last Earl of Derwentwater, a gallant and unfortunate, however misguided and erring, young man, greatly beloved for his amiable qualities in private life, his frankness, his hospitality, his honour. His descendants are now extinct, but his brother having married a Scotch peeress is the ancestor of the present Earl of Newburgh. His princely domains in Cumberland are amongst the very few forfeitures of the Jacobites, which have never been restored by the clemency of the House of Hanover; they were first settled upon Greenwich Hospital, but in 1832 were alienated to Mr. Marshall, of Leeds." Lord Derwentwater was interred with his ancestors at Dilston.

Lord Kenmure bore himself with equal courage and resolution, and his speech was much the same. He offered up a short prayer for King James III. His execution was not so speedy as that of Lord Derwentwater, the executioner giving two blows before he took off his head. (See p. 90.)

DEVONSHIRE.

Edward Courtenay, Earl of **Devonshire**, was the only son of Henry, Marquess of Exeter, beheaded in 1539, for a supposed conspiracy in favour of Reginald Pole, when all his titles were forfeited. Edward Courtenay was committed to the Tower at the time of his father's execution, and remained in custody till August, 1553, when he was liberated at the accession of Queen Mary. In the same year he was created Earl of Devonshire. Being suspected or named in connection with Wyatt's rebellion, he was again imprisoned, March 15th, 1554, in the Tower, but was afterwards removed to Fotheringay Castle. There are many romantic stories as to this nobleman, whose chief crime seems to have been his high rank, as

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he was the grandson of Katharine, youngest daughter of King Edward IV. He was said to have aspired to the hand both of Queen Mary, and of her sister, Elizabeth, afterwards Queen. On Queen Mary's marriage he was released, and going abroad, died at Padua, "not without suspicion of poison," 18th September, 1556. He is described by his contemporaries as the most handsome man of his age.

DUDLEY.

Dudley was the surname of a family which, under the Tudors, figures more often than any other in the annals of the Tower. At one time not fewer than eight Dudleys seem to have been in the fortress together, namely, the Duke of Northumberland, five of his sons, and two of his daughters-in-law. There is some obscurity as to the origin of the family, the Duke pretending to belong to the Sutton-Dudleys of Dudley Castle, in Staffordshire; but the best authorities make him a very distant connection, if any, and he was probably (as Mr. Grazebrook has pointed out) one of a family long seated at Tipton, a branch descended from Thomas Dudley, living in 1461.

Edmund Dudley, the unpopular minister of Henry VII, is said by some to have been the son of John, a carpenter, who took the name of Dudley from having been born there. Be this as it may, the quarterings of the older house were used by the family, and Edmund, who was born in 1462, was a lawyer, and was the colleague of Epsom or Empson, in the extortions which under legal forms filled the royal coffers. Henry VIII, among the other acts which, at the beginning of his reign, endeared him to the people, handed over Empson and Dudley to be tried for their lives. Both were condemned —Empson at Northampton, and Dudley at the Guildhall in London,—and they were beheaded on Tower Hill in August, 1510. Edmund Dudley had married Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Lord L'Isle, the great grand-uncle of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane, who was thus third cousin to her husband Lord Guildford Dudley. The children of Edmund Dudley were placed under the guardianship of Edward Guildford, or Guldeford, a member of the household of Henry VIII, and owing to his exertions the attainder was reversed in 1512, so far as to allow the eldest son to inherit his father's lands.

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John Dudley, thus restored, had been born in 1502, and married Jane Guildford, the daughter of his guardian. He was made Viscount L'Isle in 1542. He was in favour, first with Wolsey and afterwards with Henry VIII. In 1532 he obtained the office of Joint Constable of Warwick Castle, and on the accession of Edward VI was made Earl of Warwick, and had a grant of the Castle. His eldest son, Henry, was killed at the siege of Boulogne, while still young. The second, on his father's elevation to the Dukedom of Northumberland, became Earl of Warwick. The fourth son, Guildford, was the husband of Lady Jane Grey. On the death of Edward VI, 6th July, 1553, the Duke proclaimed his daughter-in-law Queen, and at the head of some troops tried to capture the Princess Mary. He was arrested in King's College, Cambridge, his men having deserted him on Queen Mary being proclaimed on the 19th July. On the 25th, Northumberland was lodged in the Tower, where he remained until the 18th August, when he was brought to trial at Westminster Hall for high treason, found guilty, and taken back to the Tower. He pleaded for his life with much earnestness, both through Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and in a letter to Queen Mary in which he says: "An old proverb there is, and it is most true, that a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh! that it would please her good grace to give me life, yea, the life of a dogge, if I might but lyve and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her hon^ble^ services, as I have the best part already under her worthie brother and most glorious father." The execution was appointed to take place on the 21st August, but twenty-four hours of respite were given that the Duke should hear Mass, and confess publicly in the Chapel of St. John in the White Tower. A contemporary account says that the "Masse was sayde both with elevation over the hed, the paxe geving, blessinge and crossinge on the crowne, breathinge, towrning aboute, and all other rytes and accydentes of olde tyme appertayning." Many people came from the city to hear the Duke declare himself a Catholic, which he did after Mass, probably in the hopes of receiving a respite; but the next day the execution took place on Tower Hill. When he mounted the scaffold he put off his gown of swan-coloured damask and turning to the east addressed the people. Stow narrates that "after his speech he knelt down and asked the people to bear witness that he died in the Catholic faith," after which

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"he sayd the psalms of Miserere, and De Profundis, his paternoster, and sixe of the first verses of the psalms, In to Domine speravi, ending with the verse, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' and when he had finished his prayers, the executioner asked him forgivenesse, to whom hee sayd, 'I forgive thee with all my heart, and doe thy part without feare.' And bowing toward the blocke, hee said, 'I have deserved a thousand deathes,' hee layd his head upon the blocke, and so was beheaded." He was buried in the chapel in the Tower. Lady Jane Grey was filled with contempt and anger when she heard of the Duke's profession of the Roman Catholic faith to try and save his life, and hoped she might never be tempted to do anything so cowardly.

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, the Duke's second but eldest surviving son, was, with his brothers, left in the Tower at the time of their father's death. He had married, 1550, Anne, daughter of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, his father's rival. In 1552 he was summoned to the House of Peers as Earl of Warwick. In the autumn of 1554 his wife obtained leave to remove him from the Tower on account of illness, and he died at Penshurst in October of the same year. John Dudley's name is carved in the Beauchamp Tower, and he appears to have attained some degree of skill in the fine arts, to judge by the large unfinished device allusive to the names of his four brothers, Ambrose, Guildford, Robert, and Henry, which is still to the right of the fireplace, in the principal apartment.

Lord Ambrose Dudley, the third son, remained in the Tower till 1555. He was restored in blood 1558, and was made Lord L'Isle and Earl of Warwick in 1561. He died in February, 1590.

Lord Guildford Dudley, the fourth son, was the husband of the ill-fated "Queen" Jane. His fate is so much bound up in that of his wife that it seems scarcely possible to separate them; besides, at the time of his death he was so young that little could have been known about his character. He seems to have borne himself with courage and resignation, and there is something simple and pathetic in a letter written to the Duke of Suffolk from the Tower: "Your lovyng and obedyent son wischethe unto your Grace

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long lyffe in this world, with as muche joye and comforte as ever I wyshte to myselfe, and in the world to come joy everlasting. Your most humble son til his death, G. Duddeley." On the day of his execution he begged hard to see his wife, but although official leave was granted, Lady Jane felt it would be better not to try their fortitude too far, and said, "the separation would be but for a moment; if the meeting would benefit either of their souls she would see him with pleasure, but in her opinion it would only increase their trial; they would meet soon enough in the other world." Lord Guildford Dudley was buried beside his wife in the Tower chapel, 12th February, 1554.

Lord Robert Dudley, the fifth son of the Duke of Northumberland, was born in 1534. He was liberated from the Tower in 1555, and restored in blood in 1558. He figures in history as "Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Leicester" and was the husband of the ill-fated Amy Robsart. He died in 1588.

Lord Henry Dudley, the youngest of the six, was liberated with his brothers, and accompanied Lord Ambrose to France, where, in 1558, he was killed at the siege of St. Quentin.

For **Lady Jane Dudley**, see **Grey.**

EDWARD V.

Although there can be little or no doubt that **Edward V** and his brother, **Richard, Duke of York and Norfolk**, were murdered at the instigation of their uncle, Richard III, in the Tower, in 1483, there are few scenes in history more obscure. All that is so far certain seems to be that they were lodged in the Tower about the time of the summary execution of Lord Hastings, 13th June, 1483, and were there in July, when Richard ordered apparel to be made for their appearance at his coronation. The young King was styled "the Lord Edward, son of the late King Edward IV," and a little later he is described as "the Lord Bastard," because Richard's claim to the crown was based on the assumed irregularity of the marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Wydevile. It is by no means certain that the young princes were permitted

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to see the coronation, but there are grounds for believing that they were alive many months later. In the reign of Henry VII there were still, as we know, many rumours afloat as to their existence; and it is now generally conceded that the supposed confessions of their murders, and other stories, rest on very insecure foundations. It is, however, remarkable that Sir Thomas More, writing before the discovery of skeletons built into a staircase of the White Tower, should assert that their uncle, dissatisfied that they were buried where they died, would have them buried in a better place, because they were "a King's sons. Whereupon a priest of Sir Robert Brakenbury's took them up and buried them in such secrecy as by the occasion of his death, which was very shortly after, no one knew it." In July, 1674, during some repairs, bones were found in a wall of the White Tower, in such a position with respect to the Chapel of St. John above, that it may have been considered a consecrated spot. Be this as it may, the bones were assumed to be those of the murdered princes, and in 1678 were placed in a marble urn designed for the purpose by Sir C. Wren, and removed to Henry VII's Chapel, at Westminster.

It may be worth while to note that, young as he was at the time of his father's death, Richard, the younger prince, who had only been born in August, 1472, was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Marshall, a Knight of the Garter, and, stranger than all, had been for five years married to the lady Anne Mowbray, daughter and sole heiress of John, fourth Duke of Norfolk. The little Duchess did not live long, and it is probable that the Duke at the time of his death was already a widower.

ELIZABETH.

The day after Sir Thomas Wyatt broke into open rebellion, **Elizabeth**, although at that time very ill, was brought up to London from Ashridge, in Hertfordshire, by order of Queen Mary. This was in January, 1554. During her journey, people assembled in crowds to see her, and on the sixth day, when she was travelling in her litter from Highgate to London, many gentlemen rode out to meet her as a mark of their attachment to her person and of sympathy for her misfortunes. Elizabeth was shut up a close prisoner at

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Whitehall, and not allowed to communicate with any one for nearly a fortnight.

On the 16th March the Bishop of Winchester and nineteen others of the Council came from the Queen and charged her with being privy to Wyatt's conspiracy. Although Elizabeth protested her innocence of these accusations, they informed her that it was Her Majesty's will and pleasure that she should go to the Tower until the matter was further tried and examined. At the idea of going to the Tower Elizabeth was struck with dismay; she reiterated the vows of her innocence, and of her truth and loyalty to the Queen. But her protestations had no effect, and an hour later the Earl of Sussex returned with a guard, and, removing all the servants and attendants, substituted a gentleman usher, two grooms of the chamber, and three gentlewomen of the Queen's in their place. She succeeded in obtaining leave to write a letter to her sister, by which delay the tide was lost, as the barge could not have shot London Bridge. It was not, therefore, till the morning of the 18th, which was Palm Sunday, that Elizabeth was removed to the Tower by water. It was directed throughout the capital, in order to ensure privacy in her journey, that the people should all repair to Church and "carry their palms." In passing London Bridge, owing to the great fall of water at half tide, the whole party narrowly escaped with their lives. When they came to the Tower, the barge was steered to the Traitors' Gate, and Elizabeth, being reluctant to enter by that way, said, with her usual dignity and spirit, as she set her foot on those dreaded steps: "Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed on these stairs, and before Thee, O God, I speak it." On entering the fortress she found the guards and warders drawn out in order, at which she expressed surprise; and, on being informed that it was the custom when prisoners entered, she desired that if it were so, for her cause they might be dismissed; "whereat the poor men kneeled down and with one voice prayed God to preserve her, for which on the next day they were all discharged." Passing on a little further, she sat down on a stone and rested herself; the Lieutenant pressed her to pass in out of the rain but she answered, "Better sit here than in a worse place, for God knoweth whither you will bring me." The Princess's confinement in the Tower was attended with all that mean severity which so forcibly characterises Mary's detested

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government. Mass was constantly obtruded upon her in her apartment. For a whole month she was shut up without the liberty of even passing the threshold of her prison, and with so much strictness and jealousy was she watched that a little boy of only four years of age, who was wont to bring flowers to her and the other prisoners, was suspected of being employed as a messenger, and forbidden to repeat his visits. Until her health was impaired by such rigid confinement, Elizabeth was not even allowed to walk in the Royal apartments, and when afterwards she was permitted to go into the Queen's garden, which adjoined the prison, she was attended by the constable and other officers of the fortress.

The dying protestations of Sir Thomas Wyatt cleared the character of Elizabeth from every imputation as to her being concerned in his rebellion; but she was nevertheless still detained in the Tower till the 19th of May.

There is a tradition that on the release of Elizabeth some of the City churches rang their bells for her deliverance, and that she afterwards, in token of gratitude, presented them with silken bell ropes.

After her sister Mary's death Elizabeth returned to the Tower as Queen, and established her Court with all the solemnity and splendour suitable to the great occasion. After remaining a few weeks Elizabeth removed to Somerset House till after her sister's funeral. On the 12th January, 1559, in the next year, she returned to the Tower, "attended by the mayor and aldermen in their barge, and all the crafts in their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners of their mysteries, and with great and pleasant melody of instruments which played in most sweet and heavenly manner." Her Majesty passed the bridge and entered the fortress at the Traitors' Gate, where a few years before she had landed as a prisoner. The procession from the Tower to Westminster began in the afternoon, and the decorations which ornamented the streets on this occasion were more splendid than had ever yet been seen. We are told they were accomplished without the aid of any foreign person.

After her coronation we do not find any mention of a Court being held at the Tower, and during Elizabeth's reign it was only used as a state prison.

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ESSEX.

Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was the son of a tradesman at Putney, but was descended from an ancient and noble family. He was born in 1490, and when very young he went to France, and, probably owing to poverty, entered the army of the Duke of Bourbon as a common soldier, and was at the siege of Rome. We know little else about his early life but that he taught himself Latin by learning the New Testament by heart. Soon after his second return from Rome, Cromwell was in the service of Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he successively became steward, secretary, and solicitor and councillor. He belonged to Gray's Inn, and was M.P. for Taunton. In 1530, when the tide of fortune turned against Wolsey, Cromwell stood forth almost alone in his defence; and even those most violent against the Cardinal could not restrain their admiration for the ability and courage of his advocate. Almost immediately afterwards, Cromwell was recommended to the King's notice by Lord Russell. At their first interview the King was so struck with his extraordinary genius and information, that he immediately retained him in his service, making him first a Privy Councillor and Master of the Jewel House, and subsequently Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534 Cromwell became Principal Secretary of State and Master of the Rolls; and in 1536 Keeper of the Privy Seal and Vicar-General. Under Cromwell's rule the Bible was circulated in English, and a copy placed publicly in each church. It is to Cromwell that the dissolution of the monasteries is due, and as a reward for his services he obtained large grants of monastic lands; but from this moment began his fall. He had incurred the hatred of many people, of both parties, by his high-handed measures for the promotion of the Reformation. Secret accusations were preferred against him, and on the 10th of June, 1540, he was arrested by the Duke of Norfolk and taken to the Tower. His attainder speedily followed, and in adversity Cromwell's courage seems to have forsaken him. He concludes a letter to the King by calling himself "Your Highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner and poor slave. Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." Henry was much affected by this letter, and asked to have it read to him three times, but probably any in-

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fluence it may have had was overruled by Gardiner and the Duke of Norfolk, and the 28th of July was fixed for Cromwell's execution. On that morning, "first calling for his breakfast and therewith eating the same, and after that passing out of the prison downe the hill within the Tower and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution, and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words asking him why he was so heavy, hee willed to pluck up his heart and to be of good comfort; for, sayd he, there is no cause for you to feare; if you repent and be heartilie sorrie for that you have done, there is for you mercie enough of the Lord, who for Christis sake will forgive you, and therefore be not dismaid, and though the breakfast which we are going to be sharpe, yet, trusting in the mercie of the Lord, we shall have a joyfull dinner, and so went they together to the place of execution and took their death patientlie." Just before the execution he addressed the surrounding multitudes who had assembled to witness his death. He then begged them to pray for the King, for the prince, and "for me that, so long as life remaineth in this flesh I waver nothing in my faith." The prisoner then knelt down and offered up a long and fervent prayer, concluding with "Into Thy hands I commend my soul. Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." The fall of Cromwell was connected with the divorce of Anne of Cleves, whose marriage, as establishing a connection between the English Crown and the Protestant princes of Germany, he had brought about. It may be worth while to add that Gregory, his son, was created Lord Cromwell five months after his father's death, and his descendants became Earls of Ardglass, a title extinguished in 1687, by the death of the fifth earl and seventh Lord Cromwell. The descendants of Thomas Cromwell's sister, who had married a Welshman named Williams, assumed the name, and one of them figures in history as Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Realm.

ESSEX.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was born in 1567. At the age of eighteen he accompanied his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, to Holland, and by his gallant conduct in battle won for himself the distinction of a Master of the Horse, and at the age of twenty-one was a General of Cavalry.

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Subsequently he received the order of the Garter and became a Privy Councillor, and shortly afterwards obtained by the favour of Queen Elizabeth the posts of Master of the Ordnance, Earl Marshal, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Sir Henry Wotton wrote of him: "In their military services, the characters of the Earl's imployments were these, viz.: his forwardist, was that of Portugal; the saddest, that of Rouen, where he lost his brave brother; his fortunatest piece I esteem the taking of Cadiz, and no less modest, for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his omissions; his zealousest imployment was to the relief of Calais, besieged by the Cardinal Archduke, about which there passed then between the Queen and the French King much art; his voyage to the Azores was the best, for the discovery of the Spanish weakness, and otherwise almost a saving voyage; his blackest was that to Ireland, ordained to be the sepulchre of his father and the gulph of his own fortunes."

In September, 1599, Essex returned unbidden to England from his disastrous campaign in Ireland. He hoped by throwing himself at the feet of Elizabeth to justify his actions and regain her favour. "At first her affections and the unexpected sight of her favourite overcame other feelings, and she received him with some of her wonted kindness; but the scene was soon changed." He was shortly afterwards placed under arrest in custody of the Lord Keeper in York House. After several months Essex, professing submission in his letters to the Queen, was allowed to go to his own house, but under charge of Sir Richard Berkeley. He was subsequently allowed full liberty, of which he made very bad use, for finding that he did not regain his place at Court he began to hold meetings of disaffected persons, and acted so imprudently that he was summoned to appear before the Council. Being warned by a letter to provide for his safety he excused himself. Essex now finding himself in a most precarious position endeavoured to get up a party in his favour, but with little success. A foolish march through the city, and a riot in which some men were killed, did not help his cause. Essex, with several of his friends, was made prisoner, and was brought to trial at Westminster Hall on the 19th February, 1601, the trial lasting until six in the evening. There was much acrimonious speaking on both sides and Francis Bacon showed himself most ungrateful in

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appearing as advocate against Essex, who had been to him a generous patron. Bayley says: "When the prosecution had closed, the lords retired, and, after consulting about an hour, returned to their seats. The prisoners were then brought to the bar to hear the sentence of 'guilty' which had been unanimously given against them. The Earl of Southampton humbly implored the Queen's mercy, protesting that he had never harboured a thought that was evil against his prince. Essex with all the nobleness of his soul begged with equal ardour for his friend, but, chafed and roused by the severity of his trial, he bore for himself a loftier tone:—he had no boon to ask! He declared that as for his own life, he did not value it; all his desire was to lay it down with the conscience of a good Christian, and of a loyal subject; whatever might appear in the sense of the law." Southampton was first sentenced, and then the Lord High Stewart recommended Essex to request the Queen's mercy and pardon, at the same time sentencing him to death in the usual form. On the following day, the 20th, Dr. Dove, Dean of Norwich, was sent to try and induce Essex to confess his offences, and most of the Council visited him with the same object. Mr. Doyne Bell says: "Whether the oft-repeated story of Lady Nottingham and the Queen's ring is fact or fiction may be left to others to determine; suffice it here to say that Essex did not himself make any direct appeal to the Queen for mercy; efforts were undoubtedly made to obtain a reprieve, and Lady Essex wrote an earnest appeal to Cecil, to which there is reason to suppose he showed some inclination to listen, for Essex's old enemy, Raleigh, wrote also at about the same date to Cecil urging him to execute Essex at once. The fact that he took no farewell of his wife or any of his friends has been considered as a strong proof that he expected a reprieve, if not a pardon." Southampton was pardoned, but no such clemency was extended to Essex.

Camden says: "The Queen, by reason of her goodwill alwaies to him, somewhat now moved in mind, commanded that he should not die by Sir Edward Carey. But then on the other side weighing his contumacy and stubbornnesse, that scorned to aske her pardon, and that he had said that as long as he lived the Queene could not live in safety, she altered her resolution, and by Darcy commanded the execution to proceed." Notice of his approaching fate was com-

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municated to him on Tuesday, the 24th February, when "about eleven of the clocke at night, he opened the casement of his windowe and spake to the guard, 'My good friends, pray for me, and to-morrow I shall leave an example behind me you shall all remember; you shall see in me a strong God in a weak man. I have nothing to give you, for I have nothing left but that which I must pay to the Queen to-morrow in the morning.'" Stow says: "Accordingly, on the 25th February, being Ash Wednesday, about eight of the clocke in the morning, was the sentence of deathe executed upon Robert Devereux, Earle of Essex, within the Tower of London; a scaffold being set up in the court, and a forme neere unto the place whereon sat the earles of Cumberland and Hartford, the lord viscount Bindon, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Darcy, and the lord Compton. The lieutenant, with some sixteen partisans of the guard, was sent for the prysoner, who came in a gowne of wrought velvet, a blacke sattin sute, a felt hat blacke, a little ruffe about his necke, accompanied from his chamber with three divines, doctor Thomas Montford, doctor William Barlow, and maister Ashton, his chaplaine; them he had requested not to part from him, but observe him, and recall him if eyther his eye, countenance, or speech should betray anything which might not beseeme him for that time." Having made a speech to the assembled people in which he declared his loyalty and wished Her Majesty a long and prosperous reign he put off his gown and ruff, and knelt down before the block. Here he prayed for himself, forgave his executioner, and repeated the creed after Doctor Montford. "So opening and pulling off his doublet, he was in a scarlet waistcoate, and then readie to lye downe he said 'he would only stretch forth his armes and spread them abroad for then he was readie;' so bowing towards the block the doctors requested him to saye the two first verses of the 51st psalme, which he did; and then, inclining his bodie he sayd: 'In humilitie and obedience to Thy commandment, in obedience to Thy ordinance, to Thy good pleasure, O God, I prostrate myself to my deserved punishment. Lord, be mercifull to Thy prostrate servant.' So lying flatte along the boards, and laying downe his head and fitting it upon the blocke, he stretched out his arms with these words, which he was requested to say, 'Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.' But the collar of his doublet did hinder the executioner

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because it did cover his necke. Then himself did say, 'My doublet dothe hinder thee, dothe it not?' and with that he rose upp againe and pulled it off, saying, 'What I must doe I will doe,' and then givinge his bodie to the blocke again, and spreadinge his armes abroad, he bid the executioner strike home; and at three strokes he stroke off his head, and when his head was off in the executioner's hand his eyes did open and shut as in the time of his prayer; his bodie never stirred, neither anie part of him more than a stone, neither at the first nor the thirde stroke. The hangman was beaten as he returned thence, so that the sheriffes of London were called to assist and rescue him from such as would have murdered him. His body and the head were removed into the Tower, put into a coffin ready prepared and buried by the Earl of Arundel and Duke of Norfolk in the chancel of St. Peter's."

FAWKES.

The conspirators in the celebrated Gunpowder Plot, discovered by the failure of **Guy Fawkes**, were lodged in the Tower immediately on their apprehension, November, 1605. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were hanged at the west end of St. Paul's, 30th January, 1606, and Thomas Winter, Rookewood, Keys, and Fawkes on the following day in Old Palace Yard, Westminster. Sir William Waade, who was then Lieutenant of the Tower, set up a monument of coloured marbles in one of the apartments of his lodgings, to commemorate the sittings there of the Commissioners appointed to examine the conspirators. A Jesuit father, named Garnet, suffered for participation in the same plot, on the following 3rd May, before St. Paul's.

FERRERS.

Lawrence Shirley, fourth **Earl Ferrers**, was committed to the Tower in 1760. He was charged with the murder of his steward, and though, according to modern ideas, he was undoubtedly insane, he was found guilty by his peers, and hanged at Tyburn on the 5th May.

FISHER.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was born in 1456. He was a learned man, and it is said that whilst Confessor to Henry VIII's grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Derby,

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he persuaded her to give magnificently to both Oxford and Cambridge. He refused to sign the new Act of Succession disinheriting Princess Mary in favour of the issue of Queen Anne Boleyn, and was sent to the Tower on the 21st April, 1534. In November, when Parliament met, he was attainted, his bishopric was declared vacant, his goods were seized, and also his library, which he had intended to give to St. John's College, at Cambridge. The poor old man, now nearly eighty, was shut up in a dark and cold dungeon in the Bell Tower, exposed to many privations and miseries, yet his resolve remained unshaken. On the 21st of June the Lieutenant received his writ of execution. It was five o'clock in the morning and Fisher was sleeping. Unwillingly the Lieutenant awakened him, to say that he must be ready at nine o'clock. The Bishop replied, "Let me by your patience sleep an hour or two, for I have slept very little this night, and yet, to tell you the truth, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reason of my great weaknesse and infirmity." The Lieutenant left him, and he slept for two hours. When Fisher wakened he called his man to help him to dress, and told him to take away his hair shirt, and give him a clean white one, and his best apparel, cleanly brushed, saying that it was his wedding day, and he must be dressed nicely for the solemnity of the occasion. He then put a furred tippet round his neck, and taking a Latin Testament he made a cross on his forehead, and went out of the chamber leaning on the Lieutenant, being so weak he could scarcely go downstairs, and two men carried him in a chair to the Tower gate. Here they made a halt, and the Bishop read some verses from his Testament. He was then taken to the scaffold on that part of Tower Hill which is called East Smithfield. The men offered to carry him up the steps, but he said "Nay, masters, seeing I am come so far, let me alone and you shall see me shift for myself well enough." The sun shone full in his face, and holding up his hand he quoted, "Come ye unto Him and be ye enlightened, and your face shall not be confounded." His gown and tippet were then taken off, and he stood in his doublet and hose. He then made a short speech in a loud and clear voice and knelt down to pray; when he had finished, the executioner bound a handkerchief round his eyes, and with one blow from a sharp and heavy axe cut asunder his slender neck. The body, by direction of the King, was exposed naked at the place of execution, "saving that one for pity

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and humanity sake cast a little straw over it." In the evening it was buried in the churchyard of All Hallows, Barking, on the north side, close to the wall. Fisher's head was placed on London Bridge and exposed for fourteen days. It was then thrown into the Thames because the traffic was obstructed, so many people assembled to look at the face of the old prelate. Some asserted that rays of light shone round the head; others, that the face became fresher and more comely each day. It was said that when King Henry heard that the Pope would send a cardinal's hat to Fisher, he vowed he should have no head to put it on. According to some accounts his body was removed to St. Peter's Chapel.

FITZGERALD.

Several members of the family of **Fitzgerald** were in the Tower during the Irish troubles of the time of Henry VIII. Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, was the most eminent. He was committed on three several occasions before 1534, when, in December, he died of a broken heart, as was said, on account of an outbreak organized by his family, which compromised him. He was buried in the chapel of St. Peter.

His son, Thomas Fitzgerald, and others of the family, were also taken, and brought to the Tower. A brief inscription in the Beauchamp Tower shows where "Silken Thomas," as he was called, was lodged. He was hanged at Tyburn, in 1535. He was brother of Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, who is celebrated as "the Fair Geraldine" in the poetry of the Earl of Surrey, himself destined to end his life here.

FLAMBARD.

Ralph Flambard, appointed Bishop of Durham in 1099, was a man of low origin, and illiterate; but he was a born courtier. In those days this meant that he was ambitious, unscrupulous, lavish, wily, witty, and handsome. With these qualities a man was not only able to ingratiate himself with the reigning monarch, but he could attach to his person and interests those with whom he came in contact, and use them for his own ends. Flambard amassed great wealth; he was High Treasurer, and Justiciary. He was also confidential minister to William Rufus, and aided his master in taxing

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and oppressing the people, by whom he was cordially hated. On William's death, Henry II, to earn popular applause, imprisoned Flambard in the Tower, depriving him of all his offices and emoluments; his prison allowance being two shillings per diem, a large sum in those days. It is said that he was enabled to escape by a rope conveyed to him by some of his friends in a flagon of wine. Having made use of the wine to incapacitate the keepers, he tied the rope to the ballisters of the window and let himself down. Being unaccustomed to gymnastic feats, one of his hands was cut to the bone. The rope also proved too short for a descent of sixty-five feet. However, the Bishop, though hurt, was able to use the horses in waiting for him, and reached the Court of Robert, Duke of Normandy, whom he encouraged in making his abortive claim to the English Crown. Flambard was allowed to return to his See in 1107, when he completed Durham Cathedral, made a moat round the Castle, founded Norham, and carried out other works of utility or embellishment. He died in 1128.

GREY.

Lady Jane Grey, or rather Dudley, was the great grandchild of Henry VII, through her grandmother, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, the wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Jane's father was Henry Grey, created Duke of Suffolk in 1551. She married Guildford Dudley, fourth son of the Duke of Northumberland. Fuller says of her that she had the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of the middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen, the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, yet the death of a malefactor for her parent's offences. On Edward VI's death, the Duke of Northumberland had her proclaimed Queen. "But the temper of the whole people," Mr. Green says, "rebelled against so lawless an usurpation. The eastern counties rose as one man to support Mary; and when Northumberland marched from London, with ten thousand men at his back to crush the rising, the Londoners, Protestant as they were, showed their illwill by a stubborn silence. 'The people crowd to look upon us,' the Duke noted gloomily, 'but not one calls, God speed ye.' His courage suddenly gave way, and his retreat to Cambridge was the signal for a general defection. Northumberland himself threw

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his cap into the air and shouted with his men for Queen Mary. But this submission failed to avert his doom; and the death of Northumberland drew with it the imprisonment in the Tower of the innocent and hapless girl whom he had made the tool of his ambition." On Monday, the 10th July, 1553, Lady Jane had been brought from Sion House, the residence of her father-in-law, to the Tower, where she was received as Queen. On the 19th, when Mary had been proclaimed Queen and Northumberland arrested, Lady Jane wished to leave the Tower, but then found she was a prisoner as well as a deposed Queen. Lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, was placed in the Beauchamp Tower, and Lady Jane in the Lieutenant's lodging, and afterwards in the Gentleman Gaoler's house which adjoins it. Queen Mary was crowned on the 1st of October, and on the 12th of November Lady Jane and her husband, with Archbishop Cranmer and others, were brought for trial by special commission before the Lord Mayor (Thomas White), the Duke of Norfolk, and other peers. The prisoners pleaded guilty, and Lady Jane was sentenced to "be burned alive on Tower Hill, or beheaded, as the Queen pleases." There seems to have been some chance that the young couple might have escaped the extreme rigour of the law, but Lady Jane's father joined in Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection, and that sealed their doom. The Ministers did not think it safe their lives should be spared, even though the Queen wished to show mercy. The executions were fixed for the 12th February, but in different places, as the Government was afraid of the effect it might have on the populace to see the young pair meeting death together. About ten o'clock on the morning of the 12th, Guildford Dudley went forth from the Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill. An old chronicler says that he asked the people to pray for him, and held up his hands many times to God with tears. "His carcas throwne into a carre and his hed in a cloth, he was brought into the Chappell within the Tower, wher the Lady Jane, whose lodging was in Master Partridge's house, dyd see his ded carcase taken out of the cart, as well as she dyd see hym before alyve going to deathe, a syght to hir no less than deathe. . . . By this tyme was ther a scaffolde made upon the grene over agaynst the White Tower for the saide Lady Jane to die apon. . . . The saide Lady being nothing at all abashed, neither with feare of her own deathe, which then approached, neither with the sight of the ded carcase of hir

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husbande, when he was brought into the Chappell, came fourthe, the Levetenaunt leading hir, in the same gown wherein she was arrayned (a black gown of cloth, a cap lined and edged with velvet, a black French hood, a black velvet book hanging before her and another book open in her hand), her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moysted with teares, although her ij. gentylwomen Mistress Elisabeth Tylney and Mistress Eleyn wonderfully wept, with a boke in her hande wheron she praied all the way till she cam to the saide scaffolde wheron then she was mounted; this noble young ladie, as she was indued with singular gifts both of learning and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as any lambe at hir execution. A little before death uttered these wordes: Fyrst when she mounted on the scaffolde, she sayd to the people standynge thereabout, good people, I com hether to die, and by a lawe I am condemned to the same. The facte, indede, against the Queene's Highness was unlawful and the consenting thereunto by me, but touching the procurement and desyre therof by me or on my halfe, I doo wash my handes therof in innocencie before God and the face of you Christian people this day, and therwith she wrong her hands, in which she had her booke. Then she sayd, I pray you all good Christian people to beare me wytnes that I dye a true Christian woman, and that I looke to be saved by none other meane but only by the mercy of God, in the merites of the bloud of His onlye Sonne Jesus Christe. And then she, knelying downe, she turned to Fecknam saying, Shall I say this psalm? and he said yea. Then she said the psalm of Miserere mei Deus in English, in most devout maner to the ende. Then she stode up and gave her mayde, Mistres Tylney, her gloves and handkercher, and her boke to Maister Thomas Brydges, the lyvetenantes brother. Forthwith she untied her gowne. The hangman went to her to have helped her of therwith, then she desyred him to let her alone, turning towardes her two gentlewomen, who helped her of therwith, and also her frose paste and neckercher, geving to her a fayre handkercher to knytte about her eyes. Then the hangman kneled downe and asked forgevenes whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the strawe, which doing she sawe the blocke. Then she sayd, 'I pray you despatche me quickly.' Then she kneeled downe saying, 'Will you take it of before I lay me downe?' and the hangman answered her, 'No, madame.' She tied the kercher about her

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eyes. Then feeling for the block, saide, 'What shal I do? where is it?' One of the standers by guyding her therunto, she layde her head downe upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, 'Lord into Thy handes I commende my spirite,' and so she ended."

Lady Jane was buried in St. Peter's Chapel beside her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley.

GRIFFIN.

Griffin, eldest son of Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, ought to have succeeded his father in 1240, but his younger brother David under pretence of a friendly meeting seized Griffin and imprisoned him. Appeal was made to the King of England by the friends of the captive Prince; but Henry III, only too glad of a pretext to enter Wales, accepted the submission of David and imprisoned Griffin, his son Llewelyn, and several of the Welsh nobles, in the Tower. Griffin seems to have been fairly well treated, and his wife Senhena was allowed to visit him. But the captive Prince could not bear the confinement; and "making a rope of the furniture and clothes of his bed," says Matthew Paris, "he attempted to lower himself from the summit of the tower in which he was confined; but in his descent the untrusty instrument gave way, and plunged him to instant death." His head and neck were crushed between his shoulders, and thus, a horrid spectacle, he was found next morning beneath his prison. This was in 1244. Young Llewelyn, on the death of his uncle David, escaped into Wales, but was killed fighting for his principality.

HAMILTON.

James, first Duke of Hamilton, Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland, and Arthur, first Lord Capel, were lodged in the Tower before their trial in 1649, by a High Court of Justice similarly constituted to that which had shortly before condemned Charles I. They were taken from Westminster to St. James's, and did not return to the Tower before their execution in New Palace Yard, 9th March, 1649.

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HASTINGS.

William, Lord Hastings, son of Sir Leonard Hastings, was born about 1430. He married Katharine Neville, daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and sister of the "King-Maker," Earl of Warwick. He was made Privy Councillor in 1461, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household from that year till his death, 13th June, 1483. Bayley says: "His story, as related with so much dramatic effect by Sir Thomas More, is, that the Duke of Gloucester re-entered the Council Chamber after a short absence, with a deadly frown settled on his brow; he bit his lips, and after sitting awhile began, to the great astonishment of all the Council, by asking 'What they were worthy of that compassed and imagined his destruction who was so near of blood to the King, and protector of his royal person and his realm?' To which Lord Hastings, the King's Chamberlain, after a moment's surprise, answered, 'Surely, my lord, they are worthy to be punished as traitors, whosoever they be.' Then quoth the Protector, 'That is yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and others with her,' meaning the Queen. 'Ye shall see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her council, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their witchcraft wasted my body,' and therewith turned up his doublet sleeve to the elbow of his left arm, where he showed a warish withered arm, and small, as it was never other; and thereupon every man's mind misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but quarrel; for they wist that the Queen was too wise to go about any such folly. Nevertheless the Lord Hastings, whom Sir Thomas More incorrectly states to have been the protector of Jane Shore from the time of Edward's death, replied, 'Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done they be worthy of heinous punishment.' 'What,' quoth the Protector, 'thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and ands; I tell thee, they have done so, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor!' And thereupon, striking his hand upon the table, a cry of 'treason' was raised in the adjoining chamber; and Gloucester hastily rising, and going to the door, a body of armed men rushed in. A violent scuffle ensued; one of them, with a pollaxe, gave the Lord Stanley a serious wound on the head. Hastings was seized. 'I arrest thee, traitor!' said the Duke of Gloucester. 'Me, my lord?' 'Yea, thee,' replied the Duke, 'and I would have thee shrive; for,

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by St. Paul, I will not dine till I have seen thy head off!' And so was the Lord Hastings brought forth into the green beside the chapel, within the Tower, and there, without time for confession or repentance, his head was stricken off upon a log of timber." At the same time Lord Stanley and two prelates, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, were arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, but they were subsequently released by Richard III on his coronation. The grandson of Lord Hastings was created Earl of Huntingdon in 1529, and married Anne Stafford, daughter of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 2nd November, 1483, and sister of Edward, Duke of Buckingham (see above, p. 59), beheaded 1521.

HENRY VI.

Henry VI was conducted a prisoner to the Tower after the Yorkist victory in 1465, and remained there unmolested till November, 1470, when Warwick the "King-maker" drew him from his prison and recrowned him. On April 14th 1471, at Barnet, his partisans were defeated, and he was with great ignominy conducted through London to the Tower. In May, Edward IV returned triumphant from a second victory, that of Tewkesbury, and on the 26th Henry was found dead in his lodging, of "pure displeasure and melancholy," according to the Yorkist view; but according to others of poison. In Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Part III (Act V, Scene 6), Gloucester is represented as stabbing him, but it is almost certain that Gloucester was not in London at the time. His body was shown to the people in St. Paul's, as the body of Richard II had been shown seventy-one years before, by Henry's grandfather, Henry IV. After some days the body of Henry VI was buried in Chertsey Abbey, but was removed, during the reign of Richard III, in 1484, to St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

The Wakefield Tower, long occupied by the Public Records, and now by the Regalia, is traditionally pointed out as the scene of Henry's last devotions. As it adjoined the palace this is very probable, and the murder, if indeed the King was murdered, may well have taken place here or in the chamber, which is believed to have formerly existed above.

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KATHARINE HOWARD.

Queen Katharine Howard, born 1520, was the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, and granddaughter of the second Duke of Norfolk. She married Henry VIII in August, 1540, after his divorce from Anne of Cleves. The marriage was looked upon as a victory for the Roman Catholic party, and was connected with the downfall of Cromwell. At first the experiment seemed to promise well, as the King showed his wife every mark of respect and affection, and even publicly returned thanks for the good life he trusted to lead in her company. Mr. Ernest Law, in his *History of Hampton Court Palace*, says: "But in the meantime Catherine's enemies had been at work, and the blow they were preparing was ready to fall on her unsuspecting head. Henry was already seated at Chapel hearing Mass, when the insidious Cranmer came up to him, and, unobserved, slipped into his hand the paper containing the damning disclosures against the chastity of his Queen. It is always difficult to trace the objects or to gauge the motives of any action of Henry VIII's, for under his bluff geniality of manner there was a craftiness and subtlety inherited from his father and his Yorkist ancestors which would have done credit to Philip II. It is possible, therefore, that, notwithstanding all his protestations, he gladly seized on the accusations made against Catherine as a means of delivering himself from a tie that had already grown irksome to him." At first Henry either thought or pretended to think that the accusations were false, but when certain matters were proved beyond doubt, the Queen was at once confined to her own room, and Henry never saw her again. Mr. Law tells us that there is a legend that Katharine tried to obtain an interview with Henry, who was hearing Mass in the Chapel, but that she was seized by the guards and carried back, "while her ruthless husband, in spite of her piercing screams, which were heard almost all over the Palace (Hampton Court), continued his devotions unmoved. The Haunted Gallery has its name from being supposed to be haunted by the shrieking ghost of poor Catherine." When Henry had left the Palace the Queen was brought before the Council and charged with high treason. She stoutly denied her guilt, but when alone with Cranmer wept so that he feared for her reason. He, however, persuaded her to sign a confession which had been prepared for her. A few days after,

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the Queen's guilt was openly announced in the Great Watching Chamber and her household dismissed. Katharine was then removed to Sion House, and afterwards to the Tower. A Bill was quickly passed through both Houses of Parliament, and on the 11th of February, 1542, had the assent of the King. Mr. Doyne Bell tells us, "The execution took place on Monday, the 13th February, on a scaffold which was erected on the green in front of the chapel, and on the same spot on which Queen Anne Boleyn had suffered." The body was buried beside that of her predecessor, in St. Peter's Chapel. Lady Rochford, her accomplice, was beheaded on the same day, and was also buried in the chapel (see p. 113).

JEFFREYS.

George Jeffreys, Chief Justice in 1683 and Lord Chancellor in 1685, was the infamous instrument of the oppressions of James II. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Jeffreys of Wem, and a patent, it is sometimes asserted, was made out, but never signed, creating him Earl of Flint. On the outbreak of the Revolution he fled in disguise, but was recognised in a collier's dress at Wapping by a scrivener whom he had browbeaten in court some time before, and who declared he could never forget that terrible countenance. Jeffreys was seized on the 12th December, 1688, and at his own request was taken before the Lord Mayor, having been rescued by a company of the trained bands. The Lord Mayor, Chapman, fell ill while he was dealing with the case, and Jeffreys was again in great danger: but by an order of the Lords in Council he was committed to the Tower, being conveyed in a coach guarded by two regiments of Militia, who with difficulty protected him from the popular fury. In the Tower he was kept in close confinement in the house of a warder named Bull. Early in January he fell ill. He was unable to take food, and is described as "weeping with himself." (See Mr. Doyne Bell's *Chapel in the Tower*, p. 278). He suffered from the stone and from rheumatism, and was wasted to a skeleton before his death on the 19th April, 1689. His body was buried beside that of Monmouth in the chapel, but was eventually removed to the church of St. Mary Aldermary. At the time of his death he was not yet forty-one years of age.

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KENMURE.

William Gordon, sixth Viscount Kenmure, was attainted and beheaded with the Earl of Derwentwater (see above, p. 66), February 24th, 1716. His honours were restored in 1824 to his great grandson, but on the death of Adam, eleventh Viscount, in 1847, are supposed to have become extinct.

LAUD.

William Laud, says Mr. Green, in his *Short History*, was a man with "a clear narrow mind and a dogged will to the realisation of a single aim. His resolve was to raise the Church of England to what he conceived to be its real position as a branch, though a reformed branch, of the great Catholic Church throughout the world; protesting alike against the innovations of Rome and the innovations of Calvin, and basing its doctrines and usages on those of the Christian communion in the centuries which preceded the Council of Nicæa." Laud's dream was really such a reform in the Romish Church as would enable the English Church to unite with her. On Puritanism he made war without mercy. He insisted in every parish on the use of the surplice and of the ceremonies most offensive to Puritans. He prohibited the importation of Genevan Bibles because he thought the marginal notes savoured of Calvinism. He approved of Sunday pastimes. He preferred a celibate to a married priesthood. He encouraged pomp in public worship, and introduced bowing to the altar into all cathedral churches. He even forced a new Liturgy on the Church of Scotland. Laud dismissed Prynne from the Bar, and had his ears cut off on account of his attack upon the stage and actors. By these and other high-handed proceedings he roused the popular fury, and was on the 18th December, 1640, accused of high treason and committed to the Tower, where he remained until the early part of 1643. Prynne, smarting from the ill-treatment he had received, was no laggard in seeking for evidence against the Archbishop, and got himself appointed to collect and arrange the various articles of impeachment. On the 12th March the trial began. Sergeant Wylde delivered a speech accusing Laud of endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation with Rome, and to have himself raised to the Papal throne, also of wishing to put the King's pre-

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rogative above the law, and many other misdemeanours too numerous to mention. The Archbishop defended himself in a long and able speech, quoting St. Paul's words, "If I have committed anything worthy of death I refuse not to die; for I bless God I have so spent my time as that I am neither ashamed to live nor afraid to die. Nor can the world be more weary of me than I am of it; for, seeing the malignity which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried my life in my hands these divers years past." The trial lasted twenty days. The House of Lords refused to convict the Archbishop, but the Commons, by an arbitrary exercise of authority, passed an ordinance finding Laud guilty of high treason, and condemned him to be hanged, beheaded, and quartered. Laud sent a petition to the Lords, claiming the benefit of a pardon granted by the King before his trial, but it was of no avail. The only indulgence he received was that of being allowed to end his days by the axe instead of by the hangman's rope. On the 10th of January, 1645, having slept soundly the night before, Laud went to his execution on Tower Hill with courage and cheerfulness. He read a long speech to the crowd assembled to see him die, forgave his enemies, prayed, and then laying his head on the block, said aloud, "Lord, receive my soul." His body was buried in the churchyard of All Hallows, Barking, but afterwards removed to St. John's College, Oxford. He had been Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1626, and Bishop of London, 1628 to 1633 when he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

LISLE.

Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, a natural son of Edward IV, born before 1470, was appointed by Henry VIII, who had elevated him to the peerage in 1523, to the command of Calais, 1533; but having been suspected of joining in a conspiracy to deliver over that town to the French, he was ordered to London and thrown into the Tower, 1540. His innocence, however, being proved, Henry gave orders for his release and sent his secretary, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, with a diamond ring and a most gracious message. These favours are said to have made such an impression upon Lisle that he was seized with convulsions and died the same night, March 3rd, 1542. As he was at least seventy-two years of age at the time, nothing extra-

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ordinary is needed to account for his death. It may be worth while to note that the surname of "Plantagenet," which he bore at least from 1512, but which may have been conferred on him by his father, Edward IV, was that of the Count of Anjou, who was father of Henry II. The name, although now commonly applied for convenience to his descendants, does not seem to have ever been so used before the Wars of the Roses. Viscount Lisle's wife was Elizabeth Grey, the heiress of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, and mother, by Edmund Dudley, her first husband, of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (see p. 67).

LOVAT.

The last execution which took place on Tower Hill was that of **Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat.** He was born in 1667, and while still young went over to France, where he became a Roman Catholic. Returning to England, he was sent to Scotland by the Pretender to try and get support from the Highlanders, but having revealed the Prince's plans to the English he was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille. In 1745 Lovat joined Prince Charles Edward in the rising of that year. After the battle of Culloden and the defeat of the Prince, he endeavoured to escape to France, but before he accomplished his purpose he was captured while hidden in a hollow tree, and carried in a litter by easy stages from Scotland to the Tower, he being then so infirm and corpulent as not to be able to walk unassisted. There he was imprisoned for more than six months before being brought to trial, but finally, on the 9th April, 1747, he was taken to Westminster Hall. The trial lasted seven days, during which he behaved with the most unbecoming flippancy, and when the sentence was announced he said to the assembled lords, "Adieu! my Lords, we shall never meet again in the same place." There are many contemporary accounts of the execution. Walpole says: "Old Lovat . . . was beheaded yesterday, and died extremely well, without passion, affectation, buffoonery, or timidity; his behaviour was natural and intrepid." On the morning of the execution he first prayed with great devotion, and then partook of a hearty breakfast of minced veal, and drank the health of his friends there present. At ten, the Sheriffs, according to the usual ceremony, knocked at the gate of the Tower to ask for the body of their victim. Lord

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Lovat was then taken in a carriage to a house near the scaffold. He conversed with his friends, again prayed, told the Sheriff he would not make any speech, and that he was quite ready to mount the scaffold. He looked at the concourse of spectators and expressed his astonishment at so many people coming to see "the taking off an old grey head." He then examined the axe, and presenting the executioner with ten guineas, laid his head on the block, and, after praying for a moment, signed that he was ready. The headsman at one blow severed his head from his body, and the last execution by the axe in England had taken place.

Lovat was buried in the chapel beside the two Scotch lords who had suffered in the previous year. His coffin plate is now on the west wall of the chapel with those of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino.

MONK.

George Monk (Duke of Albemarle) was born December 6th, 1608, of an ancient family in Devonshire. Jesse tells us that at sixteen he assaulted an under sheriff who had arrested his father, and was obliged to fly the country. He then served in the disastrous expeditions against Cadiz and in the Low Countries, and proved himself a God-fearing man and an excellent soldier. During the civil struggles he sided with the King, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Nantwich, and by Fairfax committed to the Tower. There he remained three years, eating his heart out with disappointment: for during this time were fought the battles of Marston Moor, Newbury, and Naseby; and Monk was a born soldier. To wile away the time he wrote *Observations upon Military and Political Affairs*, which Walpole calls a sort of "Military Grammar." Monk was in great straits for money, and Charles I sent him a hundred pounds, a kindness never forgotten, and amply repaid afterwards by his allegiance to Charles II. At length, in November, 1646, Cromwell having a high opinion of his military genius, and thinking he could change his politics, liberated Monk and sent him to Ireland to try and restore order there. During his residence in the Tower Monk unfortunately became acquainted with the celebrated Anne Clarges, whom he afterwards married, and whom Burnet describes as a "ravenous, mean, and contemptible creature, who thought of nothing but getting and spending." After the

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Restoration of Charles II, which he had done so much to bring about, he was made a Knight of the Garter, 26th May, 1660, and on 7th July of the same year, Duke of Albemarle. After a stormy life the Duke died in his chair (the Puritans always prophesied he would not die in his bed) on January 3rd, 1670. Charles II gave him a public funeral. He lay in state for several weeks at Somerset House, and the body was interred on the north side of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. The King followed the procession in person, an honour which has not been accorded to many subjects.

MONMOUTH.

James, Duke of Monmouth, born 1649, was the son of Charles II and Lucy Walters. The facts of his rebellion are well known. After the battle of Sedgmoor, 6th July, 1685, he was taken prisoner, and on the 13th of the same month carried to the Tower in the King's barge, guarded by several barges full of soldiers. The Duchess was admitted to see him the same evening, and again on Wednesday, the 15th, before his execution; but she seems to have had little affection for her husband, and there was no agonised farewell such as the Lieutenants had so often witnessed. Monmouth had married Lady Anne Scott during his minority for the sake of her fortune as the heiress of the Earl of Buccleuch, but she was not the person of his choice. Monmouth's English titles were forfeited by his attainder, but the Scotch titles being conferred on him jointly with the Duchess were inherited by his descendants. The passing of the bill of attainder against "James Duke of Monmouth, for high treason in levying war against the King, and assuming a title to the crown," obviated the necessity of a trial, and his execution took place at once and in public. He requested to have four divines in attendance, and was accompanied by Turner, Bishop of Ely; Ken, Bishop of Bath; Hooper, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely; and Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The King allowed the scaffold to be covered with mourning. Monmouth made no speech, but conversed with the Sheriffs. According to a contemporary pamphlet, quoted by Mr. Doyne Bell, "he called his servant, Marshall, and gave him something like a toothpick case, saying, 'Give this to the person to whom you are to deliver the other things.' He then went to that part of the scaffold where the block and axe lay; the axe he

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took in his hand and tried it with his nail to see whether it was sharp enough, and, giving the executioner six guineas said, 'Pray do your business well: do not serve me as you did my Lord Russell. I have heard you struck him three or four times; if you strike me twice I cannot promise you not to stir.' He also told the servant to give the executioner six more guineas if he did his work well." Having taken off his coat and wig, and refusing to have his face covered, he fitted his neck to the block, but soon he raised himself on his elbow and said to the executioner, "Prithee, let me feel the axe," and feeling the edge added, "I fear it is not sharp enough." "It is sharp and heavy enough," was the reply. "For all this," writes an eye-witness, "the botcherly dog did so barberously act his pairt, that he could not at fyve stroaks of the ax sever the head from the body." "After the third stroke the executioner threw away the axe, and offered forty guineas to any one who would finish the work. The bystanders threatened to kill him unless he took the axe again, and he completed his task; if there had been no guard he would have been torn to pieces by the crowd." "Thus," writes Evelyn, "ended this quondam Duke, darling of his father and the ladies, being extremely handsome and adroit: an excellent soldier and dancer, a favourite of the people, of an easy nature; seduced by knaves, who would have set him up only to make a property, and taken the opportunity of the King being of another religion to further a party of discontented men. He failed and perished."

MORE.

Sir Thomas More was perhaps the greatest Englishman of his time, so various were his gifts. He was successively Master of Requests, Under Treasurer, Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, an Ambassador at Cambray, and Lord Chancellor. Mr. Green observes: "In literary attainments he had scarcely an equal, as *The Common Wealth of Utopia* and the letters to his friend Erasmus show. His fund of wit was inexhaustible, and as ready as it was brilliant. He was an eloquent speaker and a convincing debater. In his private relations as a husband, a father, and a friend he was an example to the age in which he lived. He was neither avaricious nor a place-hunter. But with all these talents and virtues he was bigoted, superstitious,

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wanting in Christian charity, and a most unrelenting persecutor of the Reformation."

Sir Thomas More's personal appearance is thus described: "He was of mean stature, well-proportioned, his complexion tending to the phlegmatic, his colour white and pale, his hair neither black nor yellow, but between both; his eyes grey, his countenance amiable and cheerful; his voice neither big nor shrill, but speaking plainly and distinctly: it was not very tunable, though he delighted much in music; his body reasonably healthful, only that towards his latter time, by using much to write, he complained much of the ache of his breast."

More was born in 1480, and brought up in the house of Cardinal Morton, who often said to the gentlemen dining with him, "This child here waiting at the table whoever shall live to see it will prove a marvellous man." The Cardinal sent him to Oxford, where he gained the friendship of Erasmus and Colet. He was called to the Bar, and seems shortly after to have contemplated taking orders. More resided for about a year in seclusion at the Charterhouse, but only contracted a distaste for monastic life. After he emerged from the cloister, in 1504, Roper, his son-in-law, tells us, "he resorted to the house of one Maister Colte, a gentleman of Essex, that had oft invited him thither, having three daughters, whose honest conversation and virtuous education provoked him there specially to set his affection. And albeit his mind most served him to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fairest and best favoured, yet when he considered that it would be both grief and some shame also to the eldest to see her younger sister preferred before her in marriage, he then, of a certain pity, framed his fancy toward her and soon after he married her." It would be impossible to improve upon Mr. J. R. Green's account of More in his *Short History of the English People*— "It is when we get a glimpse of him in his house at Chelsea that we understand the endearing epithets which Erasmus always lavishes upon More. The delight of the young husband was to train the girl he had chosen for his wife in his own taste for letters and for music. The reserve which the age exacted from parents was thrown to the winds in More's intercourse with his children. He loved teaching them, and lured them to their deeper studies by the coins and curiosities he had gathered in his cabinet. He was as fond

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of their pets and their games as his children themselves, and would take grave scholars and statesmen into the garden to see his girls' rabbit hutches or to watch the gambols of their monkey. 'I have given you kisses enough,' he wrote to his little ones in merry verse, when far away on political business, 'but stripes hardly ever.'" His first wife died about 1515, and he married, secondly, Alice Middleton.

After the open rupture with Rome in relation to Henry VIII's divorce from Queen Catharine, More retired from the Ministry in silent disapproval: this sealed his fate. The Act of Succession was now framed, and he was summoned to sign it. On Monday, the 13th April, 1534, he left his home at Chelsea with heavy forebodings. He would not suffer his wife and children to bring him to the boat, as was his custom, "but pulled the wickett after him, and shutt them all from him, and with a heavy heart, as his countenance it appeared," took boat with four servants towards Lambeth. At Lambeth Palace the form of oath was shown him, and a catalogue of those who had taken it, but he refused to sign. The Lord Chancellor gave More time for reflection, and sent him to walk in the garden to reconsider his reply. He was called back again, but only to reiterate his refusal. For four days he remained in the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, and on the 17th of April was consigned to the Tower. Owing to More's private intimacy and friendship with the Constable of the Tower he was treated with indulgence, and allowed to have one of his servants, John Wood, with him. The visits of his wife and his daughter Margaret were also permitted, and many letters passed between them, until "he was deprived of his books, ink, and papers, so that he could write no more." "Which being done he applied himself wholly to meditation, keeping his chamber windows shut and very dark." "Yet by stealth," says Cresacre More, in the life of his father-in-law, from which we quote, "he would gett little peeces of paper, in which he would write diverse letters with a coale; of which my father left me one, which was to his wife; which I accounte as a precious Jewell, afterwards drawn over by my grandfather's sonne with ink."

On Thursday, the 1st of June, More was summoned to appear before the Special Commission in the Court of King's Bench at Westminster Hall. He went thither on foot through the streets of London, leaning on his staff, because he had been much weakened by his imprisonment. The Attorney-General

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on his arrival in the Hall, read an indictment setting forth that More had "behaved maliciously and traiterously against the Crown and regall dignity of his sacred Majestie." More replied, but the Court returned after a quarter of an hour with a verdict of Guilty. The Chancellor then pronounced sentence, and More returned to his captivity. At the Tower Wharf Margaret Roper was waiting, on the chance of a word with her father, and, regardless of the soldiers and the crowd, she "imbraced him and took him about the neck and kissed him," returning again, "not satisfied with the former sight of him, and like one that had forgotten herself, and at last with a full and heavie heart, was fain to depart from him. The beholdinge whereof was to manie that were presen soe lamentable that it made them for verie sorrow thereof to weape and mowrne." Returning to his imprisonment More's chief desire was that his life might not be prolonged. On the 6th July, early in the morning, came the King's message that the same day, before nine o'clock, he was to suffer death. Upon Sir Thomas Pope's departure More put on his silk camlet gown, but the Lieutenant persuaded him to change it for his gown of frieze, as the clothes of all those executed on Tower Hill were the perquisite of the executioner. "So about nine o'clock he was brought by the Lieutenant out of the Tower, clad in the old frieze gown, his beard being long, which fashion he had never before used, his face pale and lean, carrying in his hand a red cross, and casting his eyes often towards heaven. As he thus passed by a good woman's house she came forth and offered him a cup of wine, which he refused, saying, 'Marrie, my good wife, I will not drink nowe, my Maister had easall and gall, and not wine given to Him to drinke at the scaffold.'" On the scaffold he knelt down and repeated the 50th Psalm, then kissed the executioner in answer to his prayer for forgiveness, and, refusing to have his eyes bandaged, laid his head upon the block. Mr. Froude says: "The fatal stroke was about to fall when he signed for a moment's delay, while he moved aside his beard. 'Pity that should be cut,' he murmured, 'that has not committed treason,' with which strange words, the strangest perhaps ever uttered at such a time, the lips most famous in Europe for eloquence and wisdom closed for ever." More's contemporary, the Chronicler Hall, writes: "I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wise man or a wise foolish man, for undoubtedly he, besides his learning, had a great wit, but it was so mingled with

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taunting and mocking that it seemed to them that best knew him that hee thought nothing to be well spoken except he had uttered some mocke in the communication."

Sir Thomas More's head was placed upon London Bridge; his body was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter in the Tower, either in the belfry or near the body of Bishop Fisher. Margaret Roper obtained the head of her father, it is said, by bribing the executioner. She embalmed and kept it in a leaden box. It was buried with her, 1544, in the vault of the Roper family at St. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury.

MORTIMER.

Roger Mortimer, born in 1286, was the son of Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, and succeeded as eighth Baron in 1304. He is celebrated in history for the part he took in the deposition of Edward II. In 1324 he was imprisoned in the upper storey of the White Tower, together with his cousin of the same name, Lord of Chirk. The two Mortimers "drugged the drink of their keepers," says Mr. Clark, "and in a stormy night escaped by breaking the wall, and thus reached the annexed palace kitchen, from the top of which, by a rope-ladder, and aided from within the walls, they reached the Thames, and thus fled the country." Lord Mortimer became Steward of the Household to Queen Isabella in 1325, and was created Earl of March in 1328. While still very young he had married Joan Genevile, daughter of the Lord of Trim, in Ireland, and she survived him. His relations with the Queen are matter of history. He was seized at Nottingham Castle by the young King, Edward III, and in spite of Queen Isabella's entreaties that they should "spare her gentle Mortimer" he was condemned by Parliament and hanged at Tyburn, 29th November, 1330.

NITHSDALE.

William Maxwell, fifth Earl of Nithsdale, was committed after the rebellion of 1715. He had married, fortunately for himself, Lady Winifred Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powis.

Lord Nithsdale's escape is one of the most interesting stories connected with the Tower. When all hope of a reprieve was over, Lady Nithsdale determined to contrive

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her husband's escape. Strange to say, Lady Cowper in her *Diary* (p. 85) records that the respite was actually granted, but had not been made known. Lady Nithsdale came up from Dumfriesshire with a faithful maid, and hired lodgings at the house of a Mrs. Mills in Drury Lane. She determined to take the landlady into her confidence, having decided she was trustworthy. On the 23rd February, 1716, the evening before the day fixed for the execution, Lady Nithsdale revealed her plans to Mrs. Mills, and implored her assistance in carrying them out. She persuaded a Mrs. Morgan also to consent to be one of the party. The three women then started for the Tower in a coach. As they drove along, Lady Nithsdale explained what she wished the two women to do. Her own account, written to her sister, is too long for quotation, but the main facts were these:—Lady Nithsdale could only introduce one visitor at a time into her husband's room to bid him farewell. She took in first Mrs. Morgan, who had brought on her own person a dress belonging to Mrs. Mills, which she now removed, and having spoken with the prisoner, Lady Nithsdale took her down the staircase, and brought up Mrs. Mills, whom she had instructed to keep her face hidden in a handkerchief, as if weeping. Lord Nithsdale had meantime been rouged, his eyebrows painted out, and a fair wig put on his head under Mrs. Mills' hood. He had also put on her dress. There was no time to cut off his beard, so he hid his face in a handkerchief.

Lady Nithsdale took her husband by the hand, pretending he was the friend who had come up the stairs weeping a short time before, and adjured him in a loud voice to go quickly and fetch Evans, her maid. The guards opened the door at the top of the staircase, and as soon as they were through, Lady Nithsdale made her husband walk in front downstairs so that the guard at the top of the stairs might not notice his unfeminine gait. At the bottom was the faithful Evans, to whom she confided the apparently weeping woman. Mr. Mills was outside the Tower, engaged to conduct the escaped prisoner to some place of safety, but so little did he expect the attempt to succeed, that on seeing Lord Nithsdale he lost his presence of mind, and Evans, without saying a word, took the Earl to some of her own friends on whom she could rely. She then returned to Mr. Mills to reassure him, and they together found a place of safe hiding. Meantime the brave wife was in the prisoner's room imitating as far as she could her husband's

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voice, and keeping up a conversation to prevent suspicion on the part of the guards. Then saying she must go, but would return either that night or early next morning, Lady Nithsdale shut the door, pulling through the string of the latch so that it could not be opened from the outside. She told the servant he need not take in candles until his lord sent for them, as he was in prayer. Going quietly out, she hired a coach and drove to her lodgings in Drury Lane, where Mrs. Mill met her. For three days the husband and wife remained in the garret of a poor woman, and lived on bread and wine. Then the Venetian Ambassador allowed Lord Nithsdale to put on his liveries and to accompany him to Dover to meet a brother whom he was expecting. A small vessel was hired by one of the Ambassador's servants, and the fugitive, after an unusually fast passage, was soon safe at Calais.

The King was furious and ordered the arrest of Lady Nithsdale, but not only did she escape out of the country, but she managed to go to Scotland first, and secure the family papers to take away with her. No wonder that the King said "she had given him more trouble than any woman in Europe." Lady Nithsdale's personal appearance gave no indication of her manlike courage and resolve, for she was fair and gentle, with large soft eyes. She and her husband retired to Rome. He died in 1744, and his wife shortly after. Her remains were brought to England and interred at Arundel.

NORFOLK.

Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, and his accomplished son, the poet, **Henry, Earl of Surrey,** were the last persons of importance committed to the Tower during the reign of Henry VIII. Norfolk had distinguished himself in 1513 on the famous field of Flodden, and as Lord Deputy of Ireland his conduct had gained general approbation, besides he had more than once vanquished the Scots on their own ground. Henry, now actually on his deathbed, jealous of the power and popularity of the Duke and his son, had them arrested on the charge of having conspired to take on themselves the government during the King's lifetime, and at his death to get the person of the Prince into their power. On the 14th January, 1547, the

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House of Peers, without examining the prisoner, passed a bill of attainder against the Duke, and named the 29th as the day for his execution.

The Earl of Surrey not being a peer of the realm was tried only before a common jury at Guildhall. He defended himself with great spirit and dignity, but was found guilty of high treason and reconducted to the Tower. A week later, on the 19th January, 1547, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The Duke of Norfolk was more fortunate, as the King died before the sentence was carried into effect, and he remained a prisoner in the Tower until the accession of Queen Mary, when he was released August, 1553. It is a remarkable fact that this Duke lived in the reigns of seven sovereigns, having been born in 1473 in the reign of Edward IV, whose daughter Anne was his first wife: and at a time when exalted rank and nearness in blood to the sovereign seemed almost a certain passport to the scaffold which he so narrowly escaped, Norfolk died a natural death, August 25th, 1554, about a year after his release. His father-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham; his son, the Earl of Surrey; his grandson, the fourth Duke of Norfolk; his nieces, Queen Anne (Boleyne), Queen Katharine (Howard), and (by marriage) Lady Rochford; his nephew, Lord Rochford, and many more of his near relatives were beheaded, while an equal number, including his brother and his great grandson, died prisoners of state. (See above, Buckingham, Boleyn, Howard, &c.)

Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was born in 1536. The Earl of Surrey, his father, having been beheaded in 1547, he inherited the dukedom from his grandfather in 1554. Norfolk was three times married: first to Mary, daughter of the last Earl of Arundel; secondly to Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Audley, the Chancellor; and thirdly to Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Leyburn. His third wife being dead, the Roman Catholic party wished to marry him to Mary Queen of Scots, at which Elizabeth was greatly incensed. Mr. Doyne Bell quotes from several authorities as follows:—"The Queen called the Duke to her into the gallery and roundly reprimanded him for attempting a match with the Queen of Scots, without her cognizance, and commanded him, on his allegiance, to give over those pretensions. The Duke made her a very hearty and cheerful promise that

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he would, and as if he had a very slight regard for the Queen of Scots was not shy to affirm 'that his estate in England was worth little less than the whole kingdom of Scotland, and when in his bowling-ally at Norwich he considered himself equal to a King of Scotland.'" Seeing that he was still out of favour with the Queen, he withdrew from Court, returning, however, shortly after to try and obtain the Queen's pardon. Before he could reach Windsor he was arrested, examined by the Privy Council, and finally committed to the Tower on the 11th October, 1569. His arrest was owing to a secret correspondence having been discovered between him and the Scottish Court. After a year's confinement, on account of an outbreak of the plague at the Tower, he was removed to the Charterhouse, which had been his town residence. During all this time he continued intriguing, but was too closely watched to escape detection. Higford, the Duke's secretary, pointed out a place where compromising letters were to be found hidden. Norfolk was re-examined, and believing the letters to have been burnt, denied all knowledge of them. On finding that everything had been discovered, he said he would make full confession, and besought Elizabeth's pardon, declaring that he had never consented to anything which would injure the Queen, nor had joined in the plot to seize the Tower, or release Mary of Scotland. After this examination the Duke was sent back to the Tower, and on the 10th January, 1572, was arraigned in Westminster Hall. The peers unanimously condemned him, and there can, in fact, be no doubt of his guilt; but Queen Elizabeth, we read, hesitated long before she would allow the law to take its course. Norfolk was very nearly related to her, both on the paternal and maternal side, and he was the only Duke at that time left in England. "When," we read, "she speaketh of the danger, she concludeth that justice should be done; when she speaketh of his nearness of blood, and his superiority in honour, she stayeth." At length, toward the end of May, when the popular agitation could no longer be resisted, Elizabeth signed the fatal warrant.

On the 2nd June the Duke was brought out upon Tower Hill at eight in the morning. He made a long speech to the assembled crowds, and the account in the Harleian MSS., quoted by Mr. Doyne Bell, says: "And thus the sheriffe hastinge him, he torned from the people to s^r Henry Lee, the duke imbrasinge him, he said, 'I have, and alwayes have had,

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as trewe a harte to my prynce as any subject have had;' and so s^r Henry Lee stayinge him by the lefte arm, he kneled downe and asked the quene's majestie forgivenes, and risinge uppe agayne imbracinge m^r Deane of Paules often-tymes wth cherefull countynance, and afterwarde for the most p'te shakinge those that were upon the scaffolde by the handes, and desired them to pray for hym: amongst the rest, the executioner did on his knes desire forgivenes of his death, who did very courteously forgive hym, and put into his hands foure sovraignes of golde and viii^s vi^d in silver. This done the duke knelinge downe, and the deane of Paules wth hym made his heartye prayers unto God, and readinge the one and fiftye psalme saying ov' the last verse savinge one wch doth say 'and buylde uppe the walles of Gerusalem;' and he pawsed and said 'the walles of England, good Lorde.' That psalme so finished, he began to read another, and at the vii^th verse of the psalme he pawsed and said, 'I had almost forgotten, but not too late I aske all the world forgiveness, and I likewise forgive all the worlde.' That psalme and those wordes finyshed wth other prayers he reade one prayer, counted in effect a petic'on unto God, that his faith nowe at the last howre should not fayle, and finishing the prayer wth these wordes in Latin and English, 'In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum,' he rose uppe and pulled offe his velvet gowne, his blacke saten dublett, and his velvet night-cappe, and gave them to the executioner, and beinge in white fusthean waste he said to m^r Deane, 'This is the white satten dublett I made to dye in, wch the preacher did speake of;' and kneeling downe at the blocke he layd downe hymselfe and did rise agayne, and did laye the strawe and other thing in such sorte as he mighte in more convenyent manner yeld himselfe for the spediar execution; this done, his eyes and hands lifted upp, m^r Deane desired the people of sylence, and said, 'Nowe altogether with one voyce pray for hym, sayinge, Lord Jesus receyve thy soule, and after that no more shouts nor noyce.' And so all people with one lowd voyce cryed Lord Jesus receive thy soule. The duke yelding hymselfe to the blocke refused to have any handkercher before his eies, and so his heade, wth singular dexteritie of the executioner, was wth the appointed axe at one chop off and shewed to all the people. Thus he finyshed his life, and afterward his corpes was put into the coffyn appertaininge

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to Barkynge Church wth the head also, and the buryall clothe leade on hym, and so was caryed by fowre of the lyeftenants men and was buryed in the chappell in the Towre by m^r^ Dean of Paules."

This Dean of St. Paul's was Dr. Alexander Nowell. Sir Henry Lee, of Quarendon, was master of the Ordnance. The Dukedom of Norfolk remained under attainder, until restored in 1660 to Thomas Howard, the great great grandson of the fourth Duke. (See above, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, p. 53.)

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, was the second son of Thomas Percy, restored as sixth earl in 1557, and was born about 1534. His elder brother was beheaded at York in 1572. His career is very obscure, and he is sometimes supposed to have been employed by Burghley as a spy upon the Roman Catholic party, to which he outwardly belonged. In 1584 he was committed to the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in Throgmorton's plot for the liberation of Queen Mary of Scotland. On the morning of the 21st June, 1585, he was found dead in his bed with three bullets through his side. A coroner's jury found that he had committed self-murder, but there were some who held that he had been killed by a secret enemy. The "Bloody Tower" is said to have acquired its name as the scene of this tragedy. One account which, though improbable, should be mentioned, makes the Earl to have committed suicide, lest by attainder his estates should be forfeited to Queen Elizabeth. But he must have known that the consequences of a verdict of "Felo de Se" would be the same. It was remarked of the Percies that in two centuries only two Earls out of ten died in the ordinary course of nature. Four, and "Hotspur," the eldest son of the first Earl, were killed in battle. One was hanged, one beheaded, one committed suicide, and one was murdered.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, son and successor of the eighth earl, was committed to the Tower on the charge of being concerned in the Gunpowder Treason,

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and though there was evidence to prove his innocence he was sentenced to a fine of £30,000, with imprisonment during the King's pleasure. His son-in-law, the Earl of Carlisle, one of the King's favourites, finally obtained Northumberland's release after an imprisonment of nearly fifteen years. He died at Petworth, on the 5th November, 1632. His mathematical and chemical studies while in the Tower earned him the distinguishing name of "Earl Henry, the Wizard."

Northumberland, Duke of (see above, p. 68).

OVERBURY.

Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the favourite of James I, selected, says Mr. Jesse, in his *Court of England under the Stuarts*, "for his adviser **Sir Thomas Overbury** (born 1581), the famous courtier and poet, a man of strong mind and considerable genius, but irascible in his nature, and rendered apparently insolent by success. . . . As long as Overbury continued in favour, and his advice was followed, the King's affairs were not ill managed. The incessant calls of pleasure left Somerset but little leisure for the business of the State." Somerset, unfortunately for himself, fell in love with a famous beauty, the Countess of Essex. She managed to get divorced from her husband and to marry the Earl. While the divorce was pending, Overbury tried to persuade his friend to break with the lady, of whom he had the worst possible opinion, and threatening "that he would separate himself for ever from Somerset and his interest, should he disgrace their friendship by prosecuting so shameful an affair. Overbury was very well qualified to give his advice. He had a perfect knowledge of the lady's character, and had been employed throughout the intrigue—indeed he had composed many exquisite letters and love-poems for Somerset. . . . Somerset was weak enough to repeat to Lady Essex the conversation which had taken place. Her anger exceeded all bounds, and the unhappy Overbury was already devoted to destruction. No sooner, therefore, had her marriage with Somerset taken place than she with little difficulty induced her infatuated husband to sacrifice his former friend." The Earl laid a trap for Sir Thomas. It was almost compulsory that a courtier should accept any office offered to him by the King. Somerset managed that he should be offered

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an Embassy to Russia which he persuaded him to refuse, "promising at the same time to justify his refusal to the King. Overbury was caught in the snare, and humbly petitioned His Majesty to select another representative. This step Somerset secretly represented to the King as an act of gross disobedience and contempt of the Royal authority, and Overbury was in consequence committed to the Tower with directions to be more closely confined than was usual with prisoners of State." This was not his first visit, as the Queen, Anne of Denmark, one day imagining that he laughed at her, had him committed to prison, but he was released when she found out her mistake. Lady Essex was determined that this time Sir Thomas should not leave the fortress alive. She had the Lieutenant of the Tower dismissed and Sir Jervis Elways appointed in his stead, and a warden, Weston, whom she knew she could trust to carry out her atrocious scheme. Her confidante, Anne Turner, the widow of a physician, prepared poison which was from time to time put into Overbury's food. Sometimes dishes were supplied from Somerset's own table as if in kindness. "The health of Overbury had indeed declined, but as there appeared no probability of his dissolution, a suspicion was excited in the mind of his employers that Weston was playing a double part. Accordingly the Countess sent for him, reviled him for his treachery, and joining one Franklin with him in the horrid work, used such arguments as induced him to enter more heartily into his task. The two ruffians cautiously administered their deadly mixtures, and at last finding Overbury still hold out applied a poison of a much stronger character (it is said corrosive sublimate), which eventually carried him off. According to other accounts, perceiving an eruption breaking out over his body, and fearing lest the symptoms might lead to detection, they released him from his agonies by smothering him in his bed." Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, says: "Sir Thomas Overbury died on the 15th September, 1613, and is buried in the Tower. The manner of his death is not known, for there was nobody with him, not so much as his keeper, but the foulness of the corpse gave much suspicion." He was probably buried in the chapel of St. Peter in the Tower.

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PERROTT.

Sir John Perrott was born in 1527, and derived his name and possessions from a family of very ancient descent in Pembrokeshire; but it was commonly believed that he was a natural son of King Henry VIII. From his early youth, according to Bayley, he evinced a bold and impetuous spirit, and at the age of eighteen he is said to have brought himself into the notice of Henry VIII by his valiant defence when opposed to two of the yeomen of the Guard with whom he had quarrelled in Southwark, and who drew upon him. He was much esteemed by King Edward VI, at whose coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath. In 1551 he accompanied the Marquis of Northampton in his embassy to treat of a marriage between Edward and a daughter of the French King. While out hunting, a boar nearly ran at the King, Sir John Perrott perceiving Edward's peril gave the boar such a blow that he nearly cut off its head. The King was so pleased with his prowess that he offered to take him into his service. He was sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland in 1553, but was recalled in 1558, owing to the severity of his rule and the haughtiness of his manner. Shortly after the accession of Queen Mary, Perrott is said to have been committed to the Fleet for entertaining heretics in his house in Wales. Notwithstanding his religion he was a favourite with Queen Mary, and after her death was chosen as one of the four gentlemen to bear the state canopy at Queen Elizabeth's coronation. Whilst in Ireland he offended Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, by proposing to convert the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral to the founding and support of a University in the Irish capital. In 1590, in consequence of some incautious and treasonable utterances, Perrott was committed to the Tower a close prisoner under the care of Thomas Vannor. He was charged in Westminster Hall on the 27th April, 1592, with seeking the subversion of the State, with corresponding with the King of Spain, the Duke of Parma, and divers traitors beyond the seas, and it was alleged that he bore a cruel heart and malice towards Her Majesty; that he had committed divers murders to stop the disclosure of his treason; that he was guilty of sorcery and witchcraft, and had conspired the destruction of Her Majesty's person. He admitted that he had used strong language for which he was sorry, but that his heart was unstained

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by a disloyal thought. He pleaded even till eleven of the clock at night, but was found by his jury guilty of treason. On his return to the Tower after the trial he said with oaths and with fury to the Lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, "What, will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries?" which being made known to the Queen and the warrant for his execution tendered and somewhat enforced, she refused to sign it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and faithful man. Perrott was respited and remained in prison, but he died suddenly, it was said of a broken heart. "His haughtiness of spirit," says Naunton, "accompanied him to the last, and still without any diminution of courage therein it burst the cords of his magnanimity." In a Harleian manuscript quoted by Mr. Doyne Bell, it is said of Sir John Perrott that he "was a goodly gentleman and of the sword; he was of a very vast estate and came not to court for want; and to these advancements he had the endowments of courage and height of spirit, had he alighted on the alloy and temper of discretion; the defect whereof with a native freedome and boldnesse of speech drew him on to a clouded setting, and laid him open to the spleene and advantage of his enemies amongst whom Sir Christopher Hatton was professed. He was yet a wise man and a brave courtier, but rough and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being by his constellations destined for arms." His body was buried in the chapel of the Tower, 5th October, 1592.

RALEIGH.

Sir Walter Raleigh, born in 1552, was the son of Walter Raleigh, of Fardell, in Devonshire. He was a soldier, a seaman, a lawyer, and a statesman. He fought in the Netherlands, placed the English flag in Virginia, and quelled a rebellion in Ireland. The Queen loaded him with gifts and honours, and tried to keep up a jealous rivalry between him and Lord Essex for her favour. After the defeat of the Armada, Raleigh was consigned to a close imprisonment in the Tower. This first imprisonment was owing to Elizabeth's jealousy of her maid of honour, Elizabeth Throgmorton. He wrote a fulsome letter to Sir Robert Cecil with a view to its being shown to the Queen. "My heart was never broken

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till this day that I hear the Queen goes away so far off whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet near at hand that I might hear of her once in two or three days my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure face, like a nymph sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus," &c. The Queen's anger cooled, and she released Raleigh, when, in 1592, he married Elizabeth Throgmorton, who proved a faithful and loving wife through all the vicissitudes of fortune which afterwards befell them both.

Raleigh's next expedition was to Guiana, principally, it is supposed, to keep out of Queen Elizabeth's way until she had forgotten his offences. On his return he was made Captain of the Body Guard, and remained at Court distinguished by great favour until the Queen's death. King James had been prejudiced against him by the Earl of Essex before his accession; besides, he was probably jealous of his gallant bearing and great learning. Well pleased to be able to imprison him on a charge of treason in connection with Lady Arabella Stuart the King appointed a Commission, which assembled at Winchester. The trial was conducted with the most disgraceful want of the ordinary forms of justice. The Commission found Raleigh guilty of high treason after a quarter of an hour's pretended deliberation. It was a month before he was sent to the Tower, where he remained twelve years. Raleigh daily expected his end, and wrote a touching letter of farewell to his wife. He says: "I beseech you for the love you bare me living do not hide yourself after my death, but seek to help your miserable fortunes and the right of your poor child. . . . If you can live free from want care for no more, the rest is but vanity. Love God and repose yourself on Him, and therein you shall find true and lasting riches and endless comfort. Teach your son to love and fear God while he is yet young." After this, Lady Raleigh was allowed to share his prison, and their youngest son, Carew, was born in the Tower. A long confinement in so cold and damp an abode at last undermined Raleigh's health. He complained that after eight years he was under

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as much restraint as the first day. At length, despairing of getting his release from the King, Raleigh tried what bribery would do, and made large presents to Sir W. St. John and Sir E. Villiers, and in March, 1615, obtained his release, and three days later began to prepare for a new expedition to America. He had disclosed to James his knowledge of a gold mine on the Oronoco, and prayed that he might sail thither and work its treasures for the King. "No Spanish settlement, he said, had been made there, and like the rest of the Elizabethans he took no heed of the Spanish claims to all lands in America, whether settled or no. The King was tempted by the bait of gold, but he had no mind to be tricked out of his friendship with Spain; he exacted a pledge against any attack on Spanish territory, and told Raleigh that the shedding of Spanish blood would cost him his head. The threat," continues Mr. Green, from whose *History* we quote, "told little on a man who had risked his head again and again, who believed in the tale he told, and who knew that if war could be brought about between England and Spain a new career was open to him. He found the coast occupied by Spanish troops; and while evading direct orders to attack, he sent his men up the country. They plundered a Spanish town, found no gold mine, and soon came broken and defeated back. Raleigh's son had fallen in the struggle, but, heart-broken as he was by loss and disappointment, the natural daring of the man saw a fresh resource. He proposed to seize the Spanish treasure ships as he returned, to sail with their gold to England, and, like Drake, to turn the heads of nation and King by the immense spoil. But the temper of the buccaneers was now strange to English seamen, his men would not follow him, and he was brought home to face his doom. No sooner did he land than he was seized and thrown again into the Tower, not to enjoy the comparative freedom he had before experienced, but to be consigned to one of the most cold and direful dungeons in that fortress. About two months after his recommittal to the Tower, Raleigh was told that it was the King's intention to put him to death, and four days afterwards he was condemned, not for any new offence, but for the treason of which he had been accused fourteen years before." "After the Court had granted execution," says Bayley, "a warrant was immediately produced already sealed and signed for his death, although the King at the same time

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was in Hertfordshire. Sir Walter was then delivered to the Sheriffs of Middlesex, who conveyed him to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and about nine o'clock the following morning, notwithstanding the solicitations even of the Queen to save his life, he was conducted to a scaffold erected in Old Palace Yard. The gallant knight met his fate with great fortitude; as he ascended the platform he saluted the lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance with peculiar cheerfulness, and as soon as silence was obtained, he said, 'I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever, and if I shall show any weakness I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come.' He then turned towards a window where the Lords Arundel and Northampton and some others appeared, and on his expressing a wish that they should hear what he was about to say, they came to the scaffold. He saluted them and proceeded thus: 'I thank God heartily that He hath brought me into the light to die, and hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison in the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery and cruel sickness, and I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time as I prayed God it might not that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, to leave behind me the testimony of a true heart both to my King and country.'" He then entered into a long justification of himself, and, after some further speech, the scaffold was cleared, and "Sir Walter prepared himself for the last melancholy scene of his life. He gave his hat, money, and other things to some attendants who were near him, and on taking leave of Lord Arundel he begged him to entreat of the King that he might not be defamed by any writings after his death. Having taken off his gown and doublet he requested to see the axe, and this not being immediately complied with, he said to the executioner, 'Prythee, let me see it; dost thou think I am afraid of it?' On feeling its edge he added with a smile to the Sheriff, 'This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician for all diseases.' After he had gone to all parts of the scaffold and desired the people to pray to God to assist and strengthen him in this severe trial, the executioner begged forgiveness and asked which way he would lay upon the block. 'So the heart be right,' said he, 'it is no matter which way the head lays.' Kneeling with his face towards the east, he gave a signal, and with two strokes of the axe Raleigh was severed

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from all the vicissitudes and troubles of this world, and England, by the act of a cold-hearted, unfeeling tyrant, deprived of a man who, whether regarded as a statesman or a patriot, as a soldier or a seaman, a scholar, a poet, or a philosopher, must be ranked among the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived." "The head, after being held up to the people with the words, 'This is the head of a traitor,' was placed in a red bag, which was immediately wrapped in his velvet gown, carried to a mourning coach, and conveyed to his unhappy wife, who caused it to be embalmed and preserved it with pious care till her own death, which did not occur for nearly thirty years."

Raleigh's execution took place on the 29th October, 1618. His head was finally buried by his son in West Horsley Church, Surrey, his body in the Church of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

ROCHFORD.

George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, born before 1507, was summoned to Parliament in the lifetime of his father, the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, as Baron Boleyn, of Rochford, in January, 1533. He was sent to the King of France by Henry to announce the private marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to ask that monarch's advice regarding its public avowal. Two years afterwards he was made Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Again, in 1535–6 he was sent to Versailles to negotiate a marriage between the infant Princess Elizabeth and one of the French princes. Lord Rochford had risen with his sister and shared in the downfall of that unhappy lady. He was committed to the Tower 2nd May, 1536, tried and condemned on the 15th, and beheaded on the 17th of the same month on Tower Hill. His body was brought into the Tower and buried in St. Peter's Chapel. By his wife, Jane Parker, daughter of the first Lord Morley, he left no children. Lady Rochford survived him only to share the fate of Queen Katharine Howard in 1542 (see above, p. 89).

RUSSELL.

William, Lord Russell, beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields for alleged participation in the Rye House Plot, July 21st,

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1683, spent the last days of his life in the Tower, where he and his wife, Lady Rachel, took the Sacrament together shortly before they were finally parted. His son, Wriothesley, became second Duke of Bedford in 1700.

SALISBURY.

Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, born about 1474, was the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and became the last of the so-called Plantagenet family upon the execution of her brother, the Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, under Henry VII, in 1499. Margaret's title as Countess of Salisbury was acknowledged in 1513, and she obtained at the same time letters patent establishing her in the castles, manors, and lands of her grandfather, the Earl of Salisbury, better known as Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of her brother. She married Sir Richard Pole, K.G., and became a widow in 1504. Mr. Doyne Bell has collected in a small compass most of the interesting facts in regard to the Countess of Salisbury, as the following extracts will show:—"Margaret Plantagenet had been appointed by Catherine of Arragon to be governess to the Princess Mary, and her name appears in the household lists in that capacity from 1525 to 1533. Cardinal Pole was her son, and she was accused of being concerned in the treasonable plots of the Cardinal and his brothers. It was also alleged that she had opposed the suppression of the monasteries, and had designed to marry her son, Reginald Pole, to the Princess Mary. In November, 1538, Lord Southampton and the Bishop of Ely were sent by Cromwell to her residence at Warblington, near Havant, to examine her and to obtain evidence against her. They reported to Cromwell in a letter, and 'althoughe wee then entreatid her in both sorts, some tyme with doulx and myld wordes, now roughly and asperly, by traytring her and her sonnes to the ixth degree, yet woll she nothing uttre, but making herself clere, and as unspotted utterly denieth all that is object unto hir: and that with most stif and ernest wordes: sayeng that if ever it bee found and proved in her that she is culpable in any of those things that she hath denied, that she is content to be blasund in the rest of all the articles layd against her.' On the 16th November they again write: 'Wee have now removed the

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Lady of Sarisbury, and this last night arrived with the same at Cowdray. And where in the same our lettres wee touched our opinions that being removed she would perhaps uttre something more than already she had doone. . . . Wee assure your lordshippe wee have dealid with suche a one as men have not dealed with al to fore us. We may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman.'" After remaining a few days at Cowdray she was brought to the Tower. Amongst the accusations against her were that bulls from the Pope were found in her house, that she kept up correspondence with her son, and that she forbade her tenants to read the New Testament in English, or any other books that had been published by the King's authority. She was examined more than once while in prison, and Burnet records that though nearly seventy years of age she showed by the answers which she made that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. During her imprisonment we find that Thomas Phillips, one of the gaolers in the Tower, writes probably to some member of the Privy Council: "The Lady Salisbury maketh great moan for that she wanteth necessary apparel, both for to change and also to keep her warm. Her gentlewoman, Mistress Constance, hath no manner of change, and that that she hath is sore worn. Another gentlewoman she hath that is master Comptroller's maid, and hath been with her one whole year and more, and very sorry she is that she hath not to recompense them at the least their wages." The result of this letter is shown in the following memoranda of the Privy Council:—On the first of March, 1541, a "letter was sent to Stutt the Queene's tailor to provide and make meet for the late Countess of Sarum being prisoner in the Tower the parcels of apparels and other necessaries ensuing: In primus, a night-gown furred, a kirtle of worsted and petticoat furred. Item, another gown of the fashion of night-gown of saye (cloth) lined with satin of cyprus and faced with satin. Item, a bonnet with frontlet. Item, four pair of hose. Item, four pairs of shoes and one pair of slippers." In a book of Household Payments for 1541, £40 15*s.* 4*d.* is paid to John Stutt, Queen's tailor, evidently for this dress. Board wages of a woman for attending on the Countess in the Tower £6 4*s.* 6*d.*, at 1*s.* 6*d.* a week; charges for provisions for one year and a half, 60*s.*; other necessaries, 66*s.* 8*d.* The Countess was never brought to trial, but was included in an Act of attainder in 1539, and was specially exempted from

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the pardons sent by Henry in 1540 to the political prisoners in the Tower.

Lord Herbert writes: "Shortly after [the death of the Marchioness of Exeter] followed the Countess of Salisbury's execution (27th May, 1541). The old lady being brought to the scaffold (set up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her head on the block, but she (as a person of great quality assured mee) refused, saying, 'So should traitors do and I am none.' Neither did it serve that the executioner told her it was the fashion; so turning her grey head every way, shee bid him if hee would have her hedd, to get it as hee could: so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly." Lingard, quoting from a letter of Cardinal Pole, states that her last words were "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake." She was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter. She had erected for her own burial place at Christ-church, in Hampshire, a tomb still called the Salisbury Chapel. During repairs in 1834 two receptacles for coffins were discovered below the floor of this chapel, which were probably intended for the Countess and her son, the Cardinal, who was, however, buried at Canterbury.

SEYMOUR.

The family of **Seymour** was ancient, but hardly eminent in Monmouthshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire, and Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in the last-named county, had by his marriage with Margaret Wentworth six children, of whom one became Queen of England, one married the widow of a King of England, and one became Regent of the Kingdom. The sudden rise of the family, due in great part to the charms of Jane, the eldest daughter, seemed to presage its equally sudden fall. Both the Queens died in childbed, both the brothers died on the scaffold. In short, the tragedy of the Seymours is as complete as that of the Dudleys or the Howards. A generation later all three families reappear on the page of history, and, like the Howards, the Seymours are still extant, and in the first rank of the peerage.

SEYMOUR.

Edward Seymour was born about 1500, and was early at the Court, as his father, Sir John, was a Knight of the Body

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to the young King. He studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, and was knighted by the Duke of Suffolk in 1523. He formally entered the service of Henry VIII as Esquire of the Body, or, as we should say, Equerry, in 1530. His advancement was rapid when his sister married the King, immediately after the death of Queen Anne Boleyn, in 1536. He was first created Viscount Beauchamp, and in 1537, a few days after the birth of his nephew, the future King Edward VI, he was promoted to the Earldom of Hertford. The death of his sister, Queen Jane, did not lessen the King's favour, and he was made a Knight of the Garter in 1541, constantly employed as Ambassador and as General of the Army, and finally, on the death of his formidable brother-in-law, was one of the King's executors, guardian of his successor, "Governor of the King's Person and Protector of the Realm," February, 1547. A few days later he was advanced, or advanced himself, to the Dukedom of Somerset.

His fall was even more rapid than his rise. His last success was the victory of Musselburgh, or "Pinkie Cleuch," over the Scots in September of the same year. While still in the North the conduct of his brother (see below, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley) recalled him to Court, and the Earl of Warwick (see Dudley), by inflaming the quarrel, contrived to compass eventually the destruction of both. In 1549, a few months only after his brother's death, he was himself committed to the Tower and had to yield his Protectorship to Warwick. He returned to Court, however, in the following year, and assumed the modest place of "Gentleman of the Privy Chamber;" but in October, 1551, he was again arrested, committed to the Tower, and arraigned at Westminster for treason and felony. The Peers acquitted him of the treason, but found him guilty of devising the death of certain of the Lords of the Council, which a recent statute had defined as felony. This trial took place on the 1st December, and great precautions were taken to prevent any outbreak of popular feeling in his favour. After his condemnation he remained nearly two months in the Tower, before, as we may presume, Warwick dared to send him to the block; but on the 22nd January, 1552, the young King his nephew made this laconic entry in his diary: "The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine in the morning."

A great crowd had gathered, for the Duke was very popular, and there was universal grief and consternation at

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the news of his approaching execution. The King's guard and a thousand men with halbards were there to prevent disturbance. The Duke knelt down and, lifting up his hands, prayed. Then, standing up, turned towards the east side of the scaffold, and made a speech protesting his innocence. He concluded thus: "I have been always, being in authority, a furtherer of it to the glory of God, to the uttermost of my power, whereof I am nothing sorry, but rather have cause and do rejoice most gladly that I have so done for the greatest benefit of God that ever I had, or any man might have in this world, beseeching you all take it so and to follow it on still, for if not there will follow and come a great plague."

Grafton, in his Chronicle, thus continues the narrative:—

"Sodenly came a wondrous ffeare upon the peoplle after thos wordes of hym spoken, by a great sowend whych appered unto many abowe in the element, as yt had byne the sowend of gunpowder set on fyer in a close howes burstynge out, and by another sowend upon the growend as yt had byn the syght of a great nomber of greate horses ronnynge on the people to overe roun them; so great was the sowend of thys, that the peoplle fell dowen one apon the other, many wyth bylles, and others rone some thys waye, some that waye, cryeng alowed, 'Jesus save us! Jesus save us!' Many of the peopple cryeng, 'thys waye thaye came, that waye thaye come, awaye, awaye.' And I loked when one or other shuld stryke me on the hedd, so was I stonned. The peopple beyng thus amassed, espyes Syr Anthony Browen apone a lytell nage rydyng towards the scaffold, and there wythe burst out cryenge in a voyce, 'Pardon, pardon, pardon,' hurlyng up their cappes and clokes wythe these wordes, saying, 'God save the Kynge! God save the Kynge!'"

Grafton adds: "The truth of this hurlyhurlye grewe hereof as it was after well knowen. The manner and custome is that when such executions are done out of the Tower the inhabitants of certayne hamlets round about London, as Hogsden, Newyngton, Shordiche, and other are commanded to give their attendance with weapons upon the Lieutenant.

"And at this tyme, the Duke being upon the scaffolde by eyght of the clock in the morning, the people of one of the hamlets came late, and coming through the posterne gate and espying the Duke on the scaffolde, made haste and beganne to roune, and cryed to their fellowes that were behind, 'Come away, come away.' The people sodainely beholding them to

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come running with weapons and knew not the cause, cried, 'Away, away,' by reason whereof the people ranne every way, not knowing whither or wherefore."

When quiet was restored the Duke made a long and affecting speech. He prayed for the King's majesty, to whom he declared he had always been a faithful, true, and most loving subject. He then knelt down and read a brief confession. With serenity he arose and said farewell to the sheriffs and Lieutenant of the Tower and those friends who were on the scaffold. "Then he gave the executioner certayne money, which done, he put off his gowne, and, kneeling down agayne in the strawe, untyed hys shirt strings, and then the executioner coming to him turned downe his collar rounde about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he, covering his face with his owne handkerchiefe, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, where his onely hope remained, laid himself downe along, and then the heavie stroke of the axe, which disevered the head from his bodie, to the lamentable sight and griefe of thousands that heartily prayed God for him." Burnett says—"the people were generally much affected by the execution, and many threw handkerchiefs into the Duke's blood to preserve it in remembrance of him. One lady that met the Duke of Northumberland when he was led through the City in Queen Mary's reign, shaking one of these bloody handkerchiefs, said, 'Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent King, which was shed by thy malicious practice, it doth now begin apparently to revenge itself on thee.'" His body was buried in the Tower Chapel, on the north side of the Choir, where it remained until 1871, when the bones were removed nearer to the east wall of the chancel.

SEYMOUR.

Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, was the third son of Sir John Seymour. After the death of Henry VIII he was elevated to the peerage, and held the high office of Admiral of England. He was both ambitious and unscrupulous in character, and having married Katharine Parr, the late King's widow, was suspected of having "holpen her to her end," with the object of marrying her step-daughter, Elizabeth (afterwards Queen). Queen Katharine gave birth to a child at Sudeley Castle, in September, 1548, and died, with

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her infant, shortly afterwards. The Admiral, who is said to have arranged for a private marriage with Elizabeth, was arrested in the following January (1549) and committed to the Tower. It was reported at the time that he threatened "whoever lays hands on me to fetch me to prison I shall thrust my dagger in him." He was nevertheless seized and conveyed on the 19th to the Tower, "there to remain tyll such furder ordre be taken with him as the case afterward uppon more ample consaltacion shall require for the more surety of the King's Majestie and the realm." On February 22nd a full report was made of the thirty-three charges alleged against him. On the 23rd the Privy Council, with the exception of two, went to the Tower to examine him. His answer was that he expected to have an open trial, and that he would consider the accusations if they were left with him. On the 24th the whole Council waited upon the King to know His Majesty's pleasure. The Protector protested that it was "a most sorrowful business to him, but were it son or brother he must prefer His Majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood. Again they tried to get an answer from the Admiral, a deputation from both Houses of Parliament going to the Tower to try if Seymour would show any signs of submission. He spoke to the first three charges, but then stopped suddenly, and bade them be content, for he would go no further, nor could all their entreaties induce him to give answers to the rest, or to set his hand to those he had already made." A bill of attainder was brought into the Upper House, on February 25th, and on the 27th to the Commons, who pressed "that the Lord High Admiral should be brought to a trial at the bar and be heard to plead for himself." There seems to have been some reason why this was refused; the bill of attainder was passed. On the following day it received the King's assent, and Seymour was condemned to death. His execution was fixed for the 20th March. Burnet says: "What his behaviour was on the scaffold, I do not find." Strype says that when he laid his head on the block he told his servant to "speed the thing that he wot of." These words were overheard, and the servant taken into examination, confessed that they were the two letters which his master had written in the Tower to the Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, which he had been enjoined to take an opportunity of delivering. They had been written with great ingenuity; he had made his ink so craftily and with

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such workmanship as the like has not been seen. He made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose. These two papers were sewed between the sole of a velvet shoe of his. By this means these letters came to light and fell into the hands of the Protector and Council. The contents of them tended to this end, that the two sisters should conspire against the Protector, and forcing many matters against him to make these ladies jealous of him, as though he had it may be practised to estraigned the King their brother from them, or to deprive them of the right of their succession." Latimer, in one of his sermons, says: "As touching the kind of his death whether he be saved or not, I refer that to God. In the twinkling of an eye He may save a man and save his heart. What he did I cannot tell; and when a man hath two strokes with an axe who can tell but that between two strokes he doth repent? It is hard to judge; but this I will say, if they will ask me what I think of his death, that he died very daungerously, yrksomelye, horryblye. He was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him." Dugdale says, "that Thomas was a person of great courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter. The Duke, the greatest in favour with the people; Sudeley, most respected by the nobility; both highly esteemed by the King; both fortunate alike in their advancements; both ruined alike by their own vanity and folly. Both so well affected by the King that the one might well be termed his sword, the other his target."

SEYMOUR.

William Seymour, second Earl of Hertford, was the great grandson of the Duke of Somerset, and was also for a short time an inmate of the Tower, on account of his secret marriage with Lady Arabella Stuart (see p. 124). He was more fortunate than his wife, as he made good his escape; and after her death, having obtained royal forgiveness, he married Lady Frances Devereux, was in 1640 created a Marquis, and eventually, after the return of Charles II, the Dukedom of Somerset was restored by a special Act of Parliament in his favour, reversing the attainder of his ancestor, 13th September, 1660. He did not live long to enjoy his honours, as he died on the 24th October of the same year.

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STAFFORD.

William Howard, Viscount Stafford, was accused in 1678 of being concerned with the Lords Powis, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis in the so-called "Popish Plot." Lord Stafford declared his innocence, but was committed to the Tower, 31st October, 1678. He remained a prisoner there till 21st May, 1680, when he was brought before the Court of King's Bench and demanded to be discharged on bail. Stafford was not, however, brought to trial until Tuesday, 30th November, at Westminster Hall. Mr. Doyne Bell quotes the account of Reresby, who was present:—"Stafford was impeached by the Commons, and being deemed to be weaker than the other lords in the Tower for the same crime, and less able to labour his defence, was purposely marked out to be the first brought on; but he deceived them so far as to plead his cause to a miracle. The three chief evidences against him were Dr. Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville. . . . He heard his accusers and defended himself with great steadyness and resolution, and received his sentence with great courage and composure; nor did he stoop beneath the weight of his doom till he submitted his head to the block, with his last breath protesting his innocence and the cruel wrong he suffered." His body was buried in St. Peter's Chapel, 29th December, 1680. The evidence of Oates was subsequently discredited, and in the year 1685 a Bill was brought to the House of Lords to reverse the attainder of Stafford, on the ground that no doubt could any longer exist of his innocence or of the perjury of Titus Oates.

STOURTON.

Charles, seventh Lord Stourton, was committed to the Tower on a charge of murder in January, 1557. He was tried at Westminster, and found guilty, and on the 2nd March he was removed on horseback, with his arms pinioned and his legs tied, by stages to Salisbury, where, on the 5th, he was hanged with, it is said, a silken rope on account of his rank.

STRAFFORD.

The life of **Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford,** belongs to the general history of England, and cannot be summarised here, but we may abridge Bayley's account of

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his trial and execution. He was impeached for high treason in November, 1640, by his implacable enemy Pim. On the 30th January, 1641, twenty-eight articles of accusation were presented against the Earl, and he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall. This celebrated trial lasted seventeen days, and it is acknowledged even by one of his prosecutors that "never any man acted his part on such a theatre with greater reason, constancy, judgement, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and eloquent person did." Such was the power of his eloquence that he moved the hearts of all his auditors, and many who hated him as a minister sincerely pitied him as a man. The bill of attainder was, however, passed in the House of Commons on the 21st of April, and the same day it was sent to the Lords who also passed it. Nothing was now wanting but the King's assent, which he refused to give. Strafford, in a pathetic letter, prayed the King to restore peace between himself and his people, for which end he would willingly give his life. Charles, frightened by the popular outcry, sacrificed his faithful servant and signed the warrant. He sent a letter to the Lords "that they would confer with the House of Commons to spare the Earl's life, and that it would be a high contentment to him." But his request was disregarded, and on the 12th May, 1641, the Earl of Strafford was led from prison to meet his fate on the adjoining hill, and such was the popular fury against him, that when summoned to the place of execution the Lieutenant begged he would go in a carriage lest he should be torn to pieces by the people; but he replied, "No, Mr. Lieutenant, I dare look death in the face, and I trust the people!" It was observed that he walked more like a general at the head of an army than a victim to the scaffold, and as he passed the window of Archbishop Laud, who was also a prisoner in the Tower, he looked up and bowing said, "My Lord, your prayers and your blessings: God protect your innocency." On the scaffold, with a composed and undaunted courage he told the people that he was come thither to satisfy them with his head; but that he much feared the reformation which was begun in blood, would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom as they expected and he wished; and after great expressions of his firm attachment to the Protestant religion established by law in the Church of England, his loyalty to the King, and his affection to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, with

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marvellous tranquillity of mind he delivered his head to the block, where it was severed from his body at a blow; many of the standers-by who had not been over-charitable to him in his life being much affected with the courage and Christianity of his death. His son was restored to the earldom of Strafford in the following December, and died childless in 1696.

STUART.

Lady Arabella Stuart was the daughter of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lennox, and first cousin to James I. From her childhood she was practically a State prisoner, as her near relationship to the Sovereign made her a constant subject of intrigue and suspicion. Unluckily for her own happiness, instead of making one of the numerous marriages arranged for her, she fell in love with Sir William Seymour, afterwards Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset (see above, p. 121). The lovers were privately married, but the Lady Arabella's disobedience was discovered, Seymour was arrested and sent to the Tower, and Lady Arabella was placed first under the care of Sir Thomas Parry at Lambeth, and then under the charge of Sir James Croft at Highgate. Lord Seymour managed, however, to have secret communications with Lady Arabella, and arranged with her for their escape to France. On the 4th June, 1611, a vessel was provided and lay in the Thames. "On the appointed day," writes Jesse, "Seymour, leaving his servant in his bed in order to prevent suspicion, disguised himself in a black wig and a pair of black whiskers, and following a cart that had been directed to bring firewood to his apartment walked unquestioned out of the western entrance of the Tower. A boat was in waiting for him at the Tower wharf in which he was rowed to the part of the river where he expected to meet his bride; but there finding to his disappointment that the boat had sailed without him, he hired another vessel for £40 in which he arrived in safety at Calais." Arabella was living at Highgate and was ordered by the King to proceed to Durham Castle. She "induced her keepers and attendants into securities by the fayre show of conformitye and willingness to go on her journey to Durham." A newsmonger of the day says that Lady Arabella disguised herself "by drawing a pair of great French fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a manlike perruque with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black

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coat, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side." The fugitive contrived to escape from her keepers and set out with a man named Markham, hoping to join her husband. They walked for about a mile and a half and reached a small inn, where Crompton, another confidential servant, was in waiting with horses. Lady Arabella was so sick and faint that when trying to mount her horse man-fashioned, her sex was nearly being discovered by the ostler who held her stirrup. At six o'clock she reached Blackwall, "where a boat and servants were waiting. The watermen were at first ordered to Woolwich; there they were desired to push on to Gravesend, then to Tilbury, where complaining of fatigue they landed to refresh themselves." When it was dark they went on to Leigh. At dawn they discovered the French vessel which had been chartered for them lying at anchor at about a mile's distance. They got safely on board, but Arabella would not start at once, hoping that her husband would join. Her attendants, afraid of being overtaken by a King's ship, overruled her wishes and set sail. But the delay was fatal; they were overtaken by a fast-sailing vessel, and the unfortunate lady was reconducted to London and committed to the Tower, where she remained till her death. In one of her letters she described herself as "the most sorrowful creature living," and is even said to have become mad. She died on the 25th September, 1615, about four years after her unsuccessful attempt to escape. A rumour arose that she had been poisoned, but this does not seem to have been the case, as the physicians who examined her body agreed that she had died of liver complaint. Her age was probably thirty-nine. She was buried on the 27th September in Westminster Abbey, under the coffin of Mary Stuart, with "no solemnity," her coffin being so frail that through its shattered frame the skull and bones were seen by the last visitors who penetrated into that crowded chamber. "To have had a great funeral for one dying out of the King's favour would have reflected on the King's honour." Her body was therefore conveyed at dead of night by water from the Tower, and her burial service was read only by stealth.

STUART.

Among the Royal personages confined in the Tower was **James Stuart**, the son of Robert III of Scotland. His father, wishing to place him in safety and have him well educated,

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determined on sending his son, in 1406, when he was nine years old, to the Court of France. The ship in which James sailed encountered foul weather, and was driven on the coast near Flamborough Head. King Henry IV had the child taken prisoner and lodged in the Tower, although at the time there was a truce between the two kingdoms. Robert III died soon after, but Henry would not restore the rightful King to his dominions, which was perhaps as well; for the boy, being clever, had time to continue his education free from the interruptions and adulation of a Court. In 1407 he was taken from the Tower to the Castle of Nottingham, where a considerable amount of freedom was accorded to the young King, who became proficient in field sports and martial exercises.

On the death of Henry IV James was again placed in the Tower, where he found many of his countrymen in confinement. Afterwards we find him at Windsor, until the wars with France, when Henry V again lodged him in the Tower. James was treated at this time with all the consideration and respect due to his rank, and often appeared at the English Court. He accompanied Henry to France in 1420, and was at the siege of Dreux with the Duke of Gloucester. On Henry V's death the Tower again became the young King's home, but not for long. Negotiations were entered into for his release, and by sending several Scotch nobles as hostages, paying £40,000 and the expenses, James, after a captivity of nearly eighteen years, was restored to his native country and throne. The romantic episode of his marriage with Lady Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, is celebrated in verses which place James in a high rank among the early Scottish poets. He was murdered at Perth in 1437.

SUFFOLK.

Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, was in command of the Tower when his daughter, in July, 1553, was received there as Queen. On Mary's succession he was ordered to deliver up possession, and on the 27th July he was committed as prisoner, but liberated on the 31st upon his parole, to return to prison should the Queen require it. He joined Wyatt's conspiracy and attempted to raise troops at Coventry. Being deserted by his followers he hid in the hollow of a tree, but was betrayed and captured.

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On the 12th of February, 1554, the day on which his daughter was beheaded, arrangements were made for bringing him to trial. He was condemned, and his execution followed shortly afterwards.

Hollinshead reports that—"Upon the Fridaie, the three and twentith Februarie, about nine of the clocke, the Duke of Suffolke was brought forth of the Tower unto the scaffold, on the Tower hyll. And in his coming thither there accompanied him Doctor Weston, as his ghostlie father, notwithstanding (as it would seeme) against the will of the said Duke. For when the Duke went up the scaffold, the said Weston being on his left hand, pressed to go up with him. The Duke with his hand put him downe againe off the staires, and Weston, taking hold of the Duke, forced him downe likewise. And as they ascended the second time the Duke againe put him downe. Then Weston said it was the Queene's pleasure he should do so; wherewith the Duke, casting his hands abrode, ascended by the scaffold, and pausing a prettie while after, and then said, 'Good people, this daie I am come hether to dye, being one whom the lawe hathe justlie condempned, and one who hathe no lesse deserved for my dysobedyence against the Quenes highnes, of whom I do moste humbly axe forgeveness, and I truste she dothe and will forgive me.' Then Maister Weston, standing by, saide, 'My Lorde, hir grace hathe allredy forgiven and praieth for you.' With that divers of the standers by said, with meetly good and audible voice, 'Such forgivenesse God send thee,' meaning Doctour Weston. Then said the Duke, 'I beseche you all goode people to lett me be an example to you all for obedyence to tho Quene and magestrates, for the contrarie thereof hath brought me to this end. And also I shall most hartely desire you all to beare me witnes that I do dye a faythefull and true Christian, beleving to be saved by none other but only by Allmightie God, thoroughe the passion of His Son Jesus Christ, and howe I praie you to praie with me.' Then he kneled downe and Weston with him and said the sallme of *Miserere mihi Deus* and *In te, Domine speravi*, the Duke one verse and Weston another. Which done, he arose and stode up, and dyd put off his gown and his doblet, and delivered his cap and scarffe to the executioner. And therewith the executioner kneled downe and asked the Duke's forgivenesse, and the Duke said, 'God forgive thee, and I doo: and when thou dost thine office, I praie

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thee doo it quicklie, and God have mercie to thee.' Then stood there a man and said, 'My Lord, how shall I doo for the monie that you doo owe mee?' And the Duke said, 'Alas, good fellow, I praie thee trouble mee not now, but go thy waie to my officers.' Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneled down and said, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' Etc., unto the ende; and then he said, 'Christ have mercie upon me,' helde up his handes to heaven, and laid downe his head on the blocke. The executioner toke the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it up to the people, according to the common custom of execution."

Although there is no record where the Duke of Suffolk was buried, it is generally supposed that he was laid beside his daughter and her husband in St. Peter's Chapel.

SYDNEY.

Algernon Sydney, the second son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester, was noted for his opposition to the policy of Charles II. He was arrested in 1683, and confined in the Tower, on an accusation charging him with complicity in the Rye House Plot. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, December 7th, in the same year, a little more than five months after the death of William, Lord Russell, who was implicated in the same alleged plot.

VANE.

Sir Ralph Vane was a brave soldier and a capable officer. He was knighted at the siege of Boulogne in 1544, and made a banneret at Musselborough. Unfortunately for him, he quarrelled with the Earl of Warwick, and was arrested and committed to the Tower on the 27th March, 1551, on what charge it does not seem to be known. He was released on the 5th October in the same year, but soon afterwards, being accused of complicity in the alleged conspiracy of the Duke of Somerset, orders were given for his arrest. He fled, but was discovered in his servant's stable at Lambeth under the straw. Again he was committed to the Tower, and was beheaded on Tower Hill 26th February, 1551–2. He died much lamented. When pressed to petition for his life, he refused to make the required submission. "The wars," he said, "have now ended, and the coward and courageous are alike esteemed."

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VIENNE.

In 1347 a great many French captains were imprisoned in the Tower after the surrender of Calais. Of these, **John de Vienne** was the most remarkable. He had been besieged by the English for nearly a year, and only after the most heroic defence and great sufferings from famine, was the town given up to Edward III, who would, it is said, have hanged the Mayor and twelve principal citizens but for the intercession of Queen Philippa. Although the citizens were pardoned, John de Vienne and his chief officers, to the number of twelve, were sent to England and imprisoned in the Tower. There is some confusion in most of the histories of the time between the combatants and the citizens. Edward would probably have scouted the idea, as wholly repugnant to the laws of chivalry, of hanging a rival general and his knights.

WARBECK.

The life of **Perkin Warbeck** connects him but slightly with the Tower. After his abortive attempt to personate Richard, the second son of Edward IV, he was finally taken prisoner at Sheen—now Richmond—in Surrey, was conducted to Westminster, set for a whole day in the stocks that all might see him, and finally lodged in the Tower, where, Henry not showing any haste to put him to death, he remained for more than a year. An attempt to escape, in which Edward, Earl of Warwick (see below), was implicated, sent the Earl to the block on Tower Hill, and Perkin Warbeck to the gallows at Tyburn, according to some authorities on the same day, but according to all in same month, November, 1499.

WARWICK.

Of the life of **Edward, Earl of Warwick**, sometimes called "the last Plantagenet," there is little to record, except a list of dates, yet the outline thus indicated was filled with as tragical a story as any in our annals. He was only son of George, Duke of Clarence, by Lady Isabella Neville, the eldest daughter and heiress of the "King-maker." He was probably kept in some kind of confinement from the time of his father's death in 1478, when he was barely four years old, until 1484, when, in April, his cousin, the son of Richard III,

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to whom, by the way, his Earldom of Warwick had meanwhile been appropriated, died; and Richard recognised his nearness to the crown so far as to have him proclaimed Heir Apparent. But a few months bounded this season of comparative prosperity. Richard was slain at Bosworth. Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, ascended the throne of the Angevins, and Warwick, the last male of the race, lived out the rest of his short life in the Tower. It is well to observe that, in spite of his descent, he was far from having any title to the crown, except that conferred by the proclamation of Richard III, the next heirs being undoubtedly, after Edward V and his brother, who are supposed to have been dead by this time, their sisters, of whom at least four survived to grow up and marry, and of whom the eldest became the Queen of Henry VII. But the insurrection of Perkin Warbeck sealed his fate. An attempt to escape was alleged against him and Warbeck in 1499. The young Earl—he was but twenty-five—was tried and condemned by the Peers, and beheaded on Tower Hill on the 24th November. (See the Countess of Salisbury, p. 114.) This may be looked upon as the last act in the great drama of the Wars of the Roses. As they originated in the deposition of Richard II in September, 1399, they had desolated England for just one hundred years, destroyed one by one nearly all the families of the old nobility, and now, in the death of this unfortunate prince, extinguished the last descendant in the male line of either York or Lancaster.

WENLOCK.

Walter Wenlock, Abbot of Westminster, with forty-eight monks and thirty-two other persons, were sent to the Tower, under a writ from Edward I, dated at Kinloss, 10th October, 1303. They were charged with breaking into the Treasury adjoining the cloisters of the Abbey and stealing £100,000. After a long trial, the thieves were discovered, two of the monks being implicated with them, and were hanged, and it is believed their skins were nailed on the door of the chamber broken into. Abbot Wenlock died in 1307, and was buried on the south side of the altar of the Abbey Church.

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WREN.

Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, was committed to the Tower by the Parliament in 1641, and, with a brief interval in 1642, he remained in custody for more than eighteen years. He was uncle of Sir Christopher Wren, the great architect, who, at that time a young man, on one occasion met the Lord Protector, Cromwell, at the house of the Claypoles. "Your uncle," said Oliver, "has been long confined to the Tower." "He has so, Sir," said Wren, "but he bears his affliction with great patience and resignation." "He may come out an he will," said the Protector. "Will your Highness permit me to take him this from your own mouth?" asked the nephew. Cromwell assenting, Christopher hastened with the good news to the Tower. But the Bishop would make no terms with "that miscreant," as he called Cromwell, and refused to submit in any way to the "detestable tyranny" of the Republican Government, preferring to remain in prison till the arrival of Monk, when, on the 15th March, 1660, the Lieutenant of the Tower received an order for his unconditional discharge. He was then seventy-five years of age, but survived till 1667.

WYATT.

The rebellion of **Sir Thomas Wyatt** filled the Tower with prisoners. It hastened the death of Lady Jane Grey and her husband, and the Princess Elizabeth was suspected of joining it. Wyatt had assembled a large body of troops in Kent and met the royal forces under the Duke of Norfolk near Rochester, and after defeating them in a short conflict marched to Greenwich, whence, refusing the overtures of the Council, he went on to Southwark and commenced cannonading the Tower, with no effect. After some hours wasted in this idle bravado he forded the river, and passing along what are now Wandsworth, Battersea, and Wimbledon, made his appearance at Temple Bar with but few remaining followers. He was seized by the Queen's soldiers almost without a struggle and conveyed to the Tower. Jesse says: "Thence he was conducted to his trial in Westminster, where, having pleaded to the charge of high treason, he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This sentence was afterwards commuted to decapitation, which was accordingly carried

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into effect on Tower Hill on the 11th April, 1554; when his body, having been dismembered, his head was stuck on a gallows on Hay Hill near Berkeley Square, and his quarters exposed in different parts of the metropolis." In two days, the 14th and 15th February, as many as fifty of the rebels were hanged. Altogether four hundred persons are computed to have suffered death; while four hundred more, having been led before the Queen at Whitehall, with halters round their necks, had the good fortune to be dismissed with a pardon. Among them were probably those who left their names cut on the wall of the crypt of the Chapel of St. John, in the White Tower, afterwards long known as Queen Elizabeth's Armoury.

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THE TOWER AS A FORTRESS.

ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The castles built or commenced in England by William the Conqueror have been divided by Mr. George Clark (*Mediæval Military Architecture*, i, 41) into two classes: those, namely, which were built in a new position, and those which were placed upon ancient mounds. The Tower of London standing where there was no mound, natural or artificial, is of the rectangular form generally chosen for such a situation; but we must not suppose because there was no mound that the site was wholly new. The Roman wall of London must have touched the river bank just where the Wakefield Tower stands now; and it has been ascertained as a fact, both by actual excavation and by the comparison of ancient records, that, whether by the Romans or by King Alfred when he rebuilt or repaired the wall in 886, two solid and extensive bastions with a curtain wall connecting them were made where we now see the Wakefield Tower and its gigantic neighbour the Keep of the fortress. The works which Alfred repaired and those which he erected were of great size and importance—so great, in fact, that London, which owing to the incursions of the Danes had been uninhabited and desolate for nearly half a century, was never afterwards taken by an enemy in open warfare.

The builder of William's great castle was Gundulf, a monk from the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, who was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1077. He was a friend of the great Archbishop Lanfranc; and immediately on his arrival commenced the building and repair of his cathedral and of a nunnery at West Malling. About the same time, however, his architectural powers being well known, he was set to work at the Tower of London, and for the rest of his

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life, which lasted till 1108, he was constantly employed in superintending the building.

It is curious, when we think of the memories and associations which now cling to these ancient walls and seem to haunt every vault and corner, when we read a history which seems to be one long list of punishments, of prisons and chains, and tortures and executions, to read that Gundulf's most prominent characteristic was soft-heartedness. He was ever ready to burst into tears, and to weep in sympathy with the sorrowful and afflicted.

During the building of the White Tower he lived in the City of London, at a house of a friend named Eadmer Anhœnde, who was a burgess. From the first the new castle was called the "Tower" of London, and it may have been regarded by the citizens as merely a repair or enlargement of a bastion or tower of their ancient wall. That it was to become a great precinct, with a ditch and two wards or baileys, surrounded with double walls and rows of forts, they cannot have expected, because no such buildings were at that time known in England.

It is probable that no permanent exterior defences were made till the next reign; and in 1079 there was general discontent when William Rufus built the curtain of the Inner Ward, a vast operation, much of which remains still from 9 to 12 feet thick, forming the foundation of the Bell Tower, and probably of the Devereux Tower also, and marking the lines on which followed at a later time the Beauchamp, the Bowyer, and other Towers. It is probable that before the reign of Henry II, therefore, the central Keep was connected with the nearest buildings by strong walls enclosing a court in which was the royal residence.

The Tower of London, therefore, in 1154, when the first of the "Plantagenet" or Angevin Kings ascended the English throne, must have presented an aspect very different from that which we see now. The old city wall still came down very nearly to the place on which the Waterloo Barrack stands now, that is, between the Flint and Bowyer Towers. The ditch was narrow, and the whole of the buildings were grouped within the boundaries marked by the White Tower on the north, the Cold Harbour Tower on the west, the Wakefield Tower on the south-west, and the Lanthorn Tower on the south-east, into a kind of triangle, the smaller towers being circular and the Keep square; while the surrounding "precinct," or bailey

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extended westward to the Bell Tower, northward to the Devereux Tower, along lines which cannot now be very accurately determined, but which ran very near the north and east sides of the Keep, by the Broad Arrow Tower, to a curtain wall which connected the Lanthorn and Wakefield Towers. The best authorities are of opinion that this walled-in space, which formed the Outer Ward of the Norman fortress, was not very strongly defended till it became in its turn the Inner Ward of the later buildings. The Norman Kings had a residence south—strictly speaking south-east—of their Keep, and their hall and wardrobe must have almost filled up the fortified space round which they were built. The "Hall Tower," as the Wakefield was sometimes called, must have been close to the Thames, and the first water gate must have been near the present entrance under the Bloody Tower.

This, then was the castle which Matilda, the daughter of Henry I, gave to Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, assigning him at the same time those rights over London and Middlesex which her father had granted to the citizens. We may gather that great as was the Keep, the outer defences were not very formidable, for the citizens laid siege to them; whether they would have succeeded we know not, for Geoffrey, trusting himself beyond the walls, was seized, and gave up the Tower as his ransom. The war-like implements at the command of the besiegers of that time must have been very weak, for the wide moat which we see did not exist, and any ditch or fosse which may have surrounded the outer wall was dry.

The accession of Richard I marks the commencement of the works which when completed made the Tower of London what it is. The extension of the boundaries, the cutting of the wide wet ditch, and the addition of external "barbicans" to cover the salient points, were works not carried out without loud complaints on the part of the citizens and others concerned. Richard was the greatest military architect and engineer of his day; and when he went on the crusade in 1190, he left a carefully prepared plan to be carried out in his absence. His minister, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, oppressed city and suburb, citizen and priest, alike His first work was the ditch, which, however, when he had spent a large sum of money, and earned a corresponding harvest of ill-will, he failed to fill with water. In his encroachments on the neighbouring boundaries he took land

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from the canons of the Holy Trinity on the north, and the site of a mill from the Hospital of St. Katharine on the east. Geoffrey of Essex had set the example to his episcopal successor, by taking land for a vineyard, as we are told. It was restored in 1137, and was very possibly the same land which Longchamp now seized, for the slopes of East Smithfield nearest the Tower were known as the Gardens till the time of Queen Elizabeth.

In 1191 the exactions of Longchamp raised the Kingdom against him, and John, the absent King's brother, headed the insurgents. Longchamp shut himself up in the Tower, but a council was held at St. Paul's, where a letter from King Richard was read, limiting the powers of the Justiciar, and the assembly, holding unanimously that Longchamp had exceeded his instructions, decreed his deposition. The sentence was conveyed to him by eight members of the assembly, and on hearing it he fell senseless on the floor On the following day, however, when he saw the forces arrayed against him in East Smithfield he surrendered and was allowed to come out with his followers. He retired to Normandy for a time, but eventually recovered his power and was again in the Tower in 1194. It is evident that in 1191, if not in 1194, the defences of the Tower were far from complete. It would have been easy at a later date to withstand any force John and the Barons could bring up: and from the way the messengers of the meeting at St. Paul's could approach Longchamp, it is probable that any one standing under the walls could make his voice heard even in the White Tower.

In the first year of the reign of Richard, 1189, we hear of "the Royal Chapel in the Tower": doubtless the Chapel of St. John. In 1210, twelve years after the accession of King John, we have mention of "the Church of St. Peter at the Tower of London." Mr. Clark is of opinion that "this is the earliest known mention of that building." A distinction is thus made between the Royal Chapel and the Church, which may have been at that time simply parochial.

During the troubled reign of King John and the contests which resulted in the grant of Magna Charta, the Tower plays a considerable part: the city ditch was widened and deepened, and the fortress cut off more completely from its ancient connection with the walls of London. The possession of the Tower was of serious importance, and the Barons

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retained it as a pledge of John's compliance with the terms of the charter. In 1216, when Louis the Dauphin invaded the kingdom, the Tower was given up to him, but peaceably surrendered again when John was dead, and the young Henry III had been recognised.

It is to Henry III that much of the familiar aspect of the Tower, as it appears in numberless views, drawings, surveys, and prints for six centuries, is due. Throughout his long reign the works went on almost constantly. Mr. Clark (ii, 258), in describing the probable condition of the buildings at the time of Henry's accession, shows "that the Wakefield Tower, and probably the shell of Devereux Tower, and perhaps that of Bell Tower, are at least as old as the reign of King John; and that there is great reason to regard the original Wardrobe and Lanthorn Tower and its curtains, and the Cold Harbour wall and Gate towers, and the contained palace, all now destroyed, as of the age of Wakefield Tower. Also, as St. Peter's Church existed in the reign of John, and was 'apud Turrim,' or within the walls, these, between the Bell and Devereux Towers, where they pass close to the church, were also then existing. We should thus have the wall of *enceinte* of the present Inner Ward, from Lanthorn Tower to Wakefield, Bell, and Devereux Towers, as the extent of the fortress on the south and west fronts. The north curtain, now mostly destroyed, seems to have been of the same date as the east curtain, though probably some of the towers upon these—the Bowyer, Jewel, Constable's, Broad Arrow, and Salt—are of later reigns.

"Then there was the ditch deepened and widened by Longchamp, with a wall on the line of that of the present outer ward. The quay and the river front, from Iron Gate to Byward, with St. Thomas's Tower, were not then constructed, nor was the Bloody, or Gatehouse Tower. Probably the inner ward wall abutted direct upon the river shore."

From this quotation it is easy to form a distinct idea both of what the Tower was like when the old round arches of the Norman style were beginning to give way to the lancet-shaped openings of the "First Pointed" or "Early English" style; and also, what additions were afterwards made to the number and extent of the defensive works. Besides this we can now judge what old buildings remain, and how far the mediæval condition of the fortress has been altered. For particulars as to the progress and expense of the works down to Tudor times Mr. Clark's book, already so often mentioned, will be

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found the best guide to the student desirous of a more exact and technical account than is possible here.

The works carried out under Henry III included a quay and a water gate, which seem to have been finished before 1240, as on the night of the festival of St. George, 23rd April in that year, the gateway fell down. It was rebuilt, but fell again the following year: and the citizens, to whom the extension of the new defences of the fortress were so distasteful that they had ventured to remonstrate directly with the King, attributed its fall to the special intervention of their patron, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a priest actually dreamed that the martyred archbishop appeared to him. When the new building was specially dedicated to St. Thomas, his opposition ceased, and St. Thomas's Tower still stands over the Traitors' Gate.

The Keep was newly whitewashed in the same reign, and probably then received its popular name of the "White Tower," and the windows of St. John's Chapel were glazed with figures of saints. The chaplain about 1242 received a salary of fifty shillings a year.

In 1258 the Tower, in which the palace had by this time been put into ornamental repair at enormous expense, as we may see in the public accounts of the period which have been preserved under the title of "the Pipe Rolls," was given up to the Barons, under the Provisions of Oxford; but Henry soon afterwards, in spite of his promises, was back in the Tower, and, as it is recorded, again greatly strengthened the fortifications in 1261. Two years later, when the Queen was on her way by water from the Tower to Windsor, the citizens assembled on their bridge and hooted at her, forcing her boatmen with missiles to put back.

After Henry's death in 1275 very little addition was made to the buildings, but one of the first acts of Edward, his successor, on his return from the crusade, was to complete the works at the Barbican—afterwards known as the Lion Tower—and to widen and deepen the ditch both there and at the other side towards St. Katharine's.

In 1285 Edward I, having perfected a system of assize visitation, was anxious that the citizens should accept it, and when on the 29th June the Judges he had appointed sat at the Tower, they summoned the Mayor to give an account of the peace of the City. As the Londoners had for centuries appointed their own "Justiciar," they objected to the sum-

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mons; and though as a matter of obedience and courtesy, the Mayor attended the Court, he first divested himself of his robes of office, leaving them at the Church of All Hallows Barking, in Tower Street. The Judges probably sat in the Hall on the site afterwards covered by the Ordnance Office: and the Mayor and his companions were taken into custody for contempt of court, and the City for many years was governed by a Warden appointed by the King; and as the Warden was sometimes the Governor of the Tower, the oppression must have been very galling to them. The City liberties were restored in 1297.

The Abbot of Westminster and eighty of his monks were imprisoned in the Tower in 1303 on suspicion of being concerned in a robbery of the Royal Treasury, which at that time adjoined the Abbey. Two of them were convicted, and after execution their skins were nailed on the door. King Edward lodged some of his Scottish prisoners in the Tower. His son, Edward II, was here very frequently, and in 1324 the escape of Mortimer, who had been imprisoned in the White Tower, was the turning point of his unhappy reign. In 1326 the citizens seized John Weston the Constable, and extorted the keys from him. They freed the prisoners, and appointed their own partisans to hold the fortress.

Edward III built the Beauchamp Tower, next to the Keep itself, the most interesting of the buildings. He is also believed to have added the Salt Tower, and perhaps the Bowyer Tower, to the defences of the Inner Ward. All are evidently later than the curtain wall on which they stand; and being constructed solely for military purposes, the rampart walk was continued through them.

In 1336 Edward ordered a survey of the defects of the Tower to be made. "It mentions the gate towards St. Katharine's, the steps and passages upon the wall, a chamber over the Water Gate; 'Corande's' Tower and 'Le Moneye' Tower; the chapel of the Tower; the King and Queen's chapel; two turrets over the old gate, one called 'La Plummerye'; and the quay opposite the Thames, with the little postern at one end, and 'Petywales' at the other." Great works were carried out after the receipt of this report, and the Tower became what it continued to be for centuries, the chief arsenal of the kingdom. As early as 1347 we read of the manufacture and storage of gunpowder here. In 1340 Edward, then engaged in his French wars, returned suddenly

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from Tourney in November, and finding the Constable and others neglecting their duty, charged the Mayor and citizens to arrest them, which was immediately done, only one, Sir John Molines, escaping for a time.

Richard II was lodged in the Tower when Wat Tyler's rebellion broke out. The mob besieged it, and when the King went out to meet them and hear their grievances at Mile End, they broke in and murdered Archbishop Sudbury and other persons whom they found in the chapel, 14th June, 1381. They even burst into the King's private apartments, and insulted his mother, the widow of the Black Prince. A garrison of twelve hundred men in the Tower at the time seems to have been powerless to resist them.

In 1396 Queen Isabel was lodged in the Tower before her marriage and coronation, being still a mere child: and here, too, the last scene of Richard's reign was acted, when on Michaelmas Day, 29th September, 1399, he resigned the crown to Henry, Duke of Lancaster. This event occurred in the Council Chamber of the White Tower.

The coronation of Henry IV was marked by the creation of forty-six Knights of the Bath, who watched their arms in the Chapel of St. John during the night of Saturday, 11th October; the procession to Westminster taking place on the following Monday, 13th October, 1399.

The deposed King, Richard, was about the same time removed to Pontefract; and after his death his body was brought to the Tower, and taken thence to St. Paul's, where it was shown to the people, "his head upon a black cushion, and his visage open," 12th March, 1400.

The Tower was besieged again in 1450, when the rebels under Jack Cade, having had control of the City, made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the fortress. Lord Scales was the Governor, and the City magnates concerted measures with him, by which the rebellion was soon suppressed. Again ten years later, in 1460, the Tower was besieged by the citizens, under the Earl of Salisbury, the "Kingmaker's" father. The besieged "cast wild fire into the city and shot in small guns, and burned and hurt men and women and children in the streets," says a contemporary chronicler; "but they of London laid great bombards on the further side of the Thames against the Tower, and crased the walls thereof in divers places." When the south ditch was cleared out in 1843, some thirty cannon balls of Kentish ragstone were

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found, and were supposed to have been shot across the river on this occasion. The history of the Tower as a defensible fort may be said to terminate here: for though it was not taken by force of arms, this was not because it was strong enough to resist artillery, but because the King, Henry VI, had been taken prisoner at Northampton, and deposed shortly afterwards, Lord Scales had no further object in fighting. Edward IV, in June, 1461, went, as usual, in royal procession from the Tower to Westminster, to his coronation.

The history of the Tower from that time until the accession of the Stuarts is to be found in the *Biographical Notices* of eminent prisoners: for the invention of artillery introduced a new fashion in military architecture, and frowning towers, lofty walls, machicolations and battlements became as useless for defensive purposes as if they had been made of cardboard. The last English King who went to his coronation from the Tower of London was Charles II, in 1661, but the wars which had preceded his father's death had showed in a hundred examples all over England, that ancient castles and even Norman keeps could not resist powder and shot.

Still the Tower, if only for its barracks, for its stores, and for the valuable objects it contains, is under careful military rule: and presents us with one of the few remaining examples in which the mediæval government of a castle may be seen in active operation. There is a Constable of the Tower, who is a great military and civil dignitary, Lord-Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets, and immediate representative of Her Majesty within the boundaries of the Tower precinct. He is appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, and is one of the great officers of State who is privileged to be admitted to audience by the Sovereign.

The Lieutenant of the Tower is the Deputy of the Constable, and is also appointed by Letters Patent.

The Major of the Tower is appointed by commission, and acts as Governor of the fortress in the absence of the Constable and Lieutenant.

The Warders, who are not to be confounded with the Yeomen of the Guard, were first appointed as a separate corps by Edward VI, who granted them a livery, and who transferred to the Tower fifteen of the Yeomen. (See, for further particulars, Mr. Preston's *History of the Yeomen of the Guard.*) They consist at present of forty men, each of whom have served in the army as a non-commissioned

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officer. They are accounted honorary members of the Sovereign's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard. The corps contains a "Yeoman Gaoler" and a "Yeoman Porter," and each "Warder" is a special constable, sworn in, as such, before the Tower Major. The term "Beefeater," as applied to the warders, is very ancient, and has sometimes been derived from the ancient service of Halberdiers at a Buffet; but there is no such word as "buffetier" in the French language, and the term "beefeater" seems rather to mean a pensioner, and will recall to the reader's memory the hospitality of a great Baron in the middle ages, when his retainers ate as much meat as they could, and carried off as much more on their daggers. The followers of the Kingmaker are thus described in the reign of Edward IV, and may well have originated the modern use of the word "beefeater."

When the gates are locked at night the Yeoman Porter is accompanied by a military escort, and on his return the old ceremonial is still scrupulously observed. The sentry cries, "Who comes there?" The Yeoman Porter answers, "The Keys!" The sentry asks, "Whose Keys?" and the Yeoman Porter replies, "Queen Victoria's Keys," the Guard and escort saluting the Keys, and the Yeoman Porter completing the ceremony, before taking the Keys to the Queen's House, by saying in an audible voice,

"GOD PRESERVE QUEEN VICTORIA!"

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APPENDIX.

THE ARMOURY.

Before entering the White Tower it should be noted that the present collection of arms and armour had its origin in that formed at Greenwich by King Henry VIII, who received many presents of this nature from the Emperor Maximilian and others. He also obtained from the Emperor several skilled armourers who worked in his pay and wore his livery. English iron in former days was so inferior, or the art of working it was so little known that even as far back as the days of Richard II German and Italian armourers were the chief workmen in Europe. It should be remembered that the earlier kind of armour chiefly consisted of quilted garments further fortified by small pieces of leather, horn, or metal. So far from the invention of gunpowder having driven out armour, if we may credit the story of the earliest employment of that explosive, it was at a date when plate armour was hardly in use, certainly not in large pieces. What actually did cause the disuse of armour was the change in ideas as to the movement of troops and the large quantity of armour which was made in the sixteenth century, and consequently the inferior make. In England the disuse of armour seems to have begun earlier than on the Continent, but at no time were the ordinary soldiers covered with metal as seen in Armouries and other places. The weight, and what was more important, the cost, prevented such a thing. It was only the rich who could afford to pay for and had horses to carry armour, who wore much of what we see now. Again, armour for war was much lighter and less complete than that used for the tilt yard, where protection to the wearer was more considered than his ability to hurt his opponent. The greater substance of such armour and its frequent enrichment with engraving and gilding no doubt led to the preservation of this class of defence. Chain mail suffered extremely by rust and neglect,

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and even plate armour was subject to the same deterioration. It is consequently not to be wondered at that little or no armour of a date previous to the fifteenth century is to be seen in this collection. On Henry VIII's death the first inventory of the Royal collection was made, and this includes the armour and arms at Greenwich, and arms and artillery at the Tower of London which, from the time of Henry VIII, was one of the sights for foreigners of distinction. In the troubles of the Civil War the arms were drawn out, and there is no doubt much, both of arms and armour, was used and lost. The Protector took one suit, and it was not till 1660 that the armour, which had meanwhile been brought to London, was collected, and, with the weapons still in the store, were formed into a kind of museum. It is to that period that may be traced most of the grotesque stories associated with the collection. At various subsequent periods additions were made to the collection, and it was arranged in such manner as suited the knowledge of the day. Series of figures of kings of England and famous persons were made and added to or changed on the death of the sovereign. In later times the whole has been arranged by Sir Samuel Meyrick, Mr. Hewitt, and Mr. Planché, and in 1859 Mr. Hewitt drew up the first catalogue of the contents.

The mounted figures from 1826 till 1883 stood in a long gallery adjoining the south side of the Tower, but at the latter date this was pulled down, and the figures removed to the top floor. Within the last two or three years the floor below has been used for the later arms, but the lighting of the rooms and their shape, with various other causes, prevent any strictly chronological arrangements of the collection, many objects of which also belong to long periods of time.

The arms and armour are now placed on the two upper floors of the White Tower, the earlier weapons and all the armour being on the top floor, while the later weapons and the Indian arms and armour with various personal relics are placed on what is the third stage or second floor. To this the visitor ascends by a circular staircase in the south front of the Tower. At the foot observe a brass plate recording the finding in 1674 of the supposed remains of the "Princes in the Tower," Edward V and his brother Richard, Duke of York. The visitor then enters the Chapel of St. John, and on leaving passes into the smaller of the two rooms on this floor.

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At the end of the room is a mounted figure, formerly known as the Norman Crusader. It was originally at Tong Castle, and is of Eastern chain mail, the horse armour of chain and scale being Persian. Observe also the armour of the Burmese General, Maha Bundoola, killed in 1824, and a very fine suit of chain mail from the Punjab.

In the cases between which the visitor passes to the end of the room are many and rich examples of eastern arms; some of them were presented by the Honourable East India Company, others were acquired after the Great Exhibition of 1851, and others have been added by purchase or presentation at different times.

The collection includes specimens from most parts of our Indian Empire, as well as weapons from Cabul, Persia, and other countries. Some again were purchased from the armoury at Constantinople. There are also examples of African, American, and South Sea weapons. In the centre of the room are cases containing interesting objects, such as gun-flints, &c., fused together in the great fire in 1841, which destroyed many arms and much of the artillery at the Tower. There are also models of the Tower buildings in the years 1842, 1866, and 1882, and the uniform worn by the great Duke of Wellington as Constable of the Tower, which office he held from 1826 until his death.

Near the window is a figure showing a suit presented to Charles II before 1660 by the Great Mogul. It is interesting as being one of the earliest examples of eastern armour which has an authentic record of its presence in this country, and it also exhibits the persistence in early forms so common in the East.

On entering the large room, which is 95 feet by 40 feet and 15 feet high, are seen two wooden figures on the right hand, formerly at the entrance to the buttery in the old palace of Greenwich. Observe also two kettledrums taken by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim.

In the wall-cases are placed firearms in use from the eighteenth century to about 1841, and including many specimens of European weapons, though a very large number of the examples received up to the latter date were burnt then. In the S.E. corner are placed several ancient cannons, including one and a portion of another, which in 1841 were recovered from the wreck of the "Mary Rose," an English man-of-war sunk near Spithead in 1545 when in action with the French.

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This cannon, about 8 feet long with a bore of 7 inches, exhibits the early method of construction, long strips of iron being welded round a core and rings of the same metal being then shrunk on them. It is a breech-loading ship gun.

In the centre of the room are placed two handsome bronze guns made for the Duke of Gloucester, son of Queen Anne; the soldier's cloak on which Wolfe expired at Quebec in the moment of victory, September 12th, 1759; a portion of the wooden pump of the "Mary Rose," models of famous shields, including that at Windsor ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini, and in the middle of the room is deposited a model of a design for the Wellington Monument by John Bell.

The ceilings and walls are ornamented with trophies composed of arms and portions of arms disposed in various designs. Observe the bird and butterfly composed of sword blades and parts of gun locks.

On the window side is a figure of Queen Elizabeth in a dress somewhat similar to that in which she appeared when going to St. Paul's to return thanks for the destruction of the Armada.

In a case in the middle of the room will be seen various instruments of punishment and a conjectural model of the rack. Among the so-called "instruments of torture" are two foreign executioners' swords, bilboes as used on ship-board, an instrument known as Skeffington's daughter for confining the neck, hands, and feet, thumb screws, and a collar, formerly said to have been one of the spoils of the Armada. This, however, was here as early as 1547, and was merely an instrument of detention in common use in those days. It has at some later period been filled with lead to make it appear more terrible.

In the window recesses are placed wall muskets and other firearms, many formerly belonging to the Honourable East India Company. The upper floor is approached by a stair-case in the S.W. angle of the room, and when reached will be found to consist of two rooms, 95 feet by 40 feet, and 65 feet by 32 feet respectively, and both 21 feet high. Round these rooms runs a passage with many openings into the rooms and forming also the triforium of St. John's Chapel. The larger room is called the Council Chamber, and at the entrance will be noticed wall-cases containing brigandines, or velvet covered coats consisting of numerous small iron plates, so arranged as to give flexibility and

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protection. Also a doublet of defence consisting of a series of small plates of metal between canvas, and retained in position by cord passing through them.

In the cases on the right hand are specimens of chain mail in form of coats, hoods, sleeves, etc. These are mostly, if not all, of Eastern origin.

On the left hand, in the first enclosure, are two cases, the one containing early bronze arms and implements from different parts of Europe, and in the second a fine suit of Greek armour from Cumæ, near Naples. There is also a stand containing examples of the principal staff weapons used in Europe, such as the bill, the halberd, guisarme partisan, boar spear, glaive, and holy water sprinkler, a staff with a ball with spikes at its head. The figures exhibit the class of armour worn in the fifteenth century by knights, for combats on foot in the lists.

Round the walls of this room are arranged the various staff weapons in use in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and a large number of helmets of the civil war period, as well as iron skeleton caps for the inside of felt hats.

The first mounted figure, though like many of the other figures in the collection made up of portions of various suits, will give some idea of the armour worn during the latter part of the Wars of the Roses.

In the second enclosure is the suit worn by the Marquis of Waterford at the Eglinton Tournament in 1839. This suit is of modern construction, but may serve as a model for the armour of the period of the Battle of Bosworth, and the two figures on foot will give an idea of the armour worn by knights and others in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Observe the peculiar tilting saddle which protects the rider's legs, but compels him to almost stand up in his stirrups, as was necessary in jousting or tilting.

The next mounted figure is a fine example of the fluted armour of the end of the fifteenth century. Note also the horse armour consisting of the chanfrein for the head, the crinet for the neck, and the bard protecting the body, that is, the peytral on the chest, the flanches on the sides, and the crupper covering the hinder portion of the horse.

The armour of the man weighs 80 lbs., and consists of no less than 117 pieces of metal. The visitor will now pass on the right hand the block on which Lord Lovat was executed

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on April 9th, 1747, for his share in the last attempt of Charles Edward. It may be observed that a new block was used for this nobleman, the execution of Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock having taken place in 1746. Lord Lovat's head was separated at one blow, and the heading axe which is seen close by appears to have been in the Tower as far back as 1687.

The next enclosure on the left hand contains a fine mounted suit of Henry VIII. Observe the locking gauntlet, which is so contrived as to prevent the sword or mace from being struck out of the rider's hand. The insteps being protected by the stirrups have only chain mail. The two figures on foot are of German make, the complete one having the Nuremberg mark on several of its pieces, and the half suit bearing an engraving of the crucifixion on the breast. Armour was frequently blacked to avoid the trouble of keeping it bright and to render it less conspicuous at a distance.

The next figure is another suit of Henry VIII like the last and in front of it are seen extra pieces such as were worn in the tilt yard.

In the next enclosure observe the pistol shield, one of eighty made in the reign of Henry VIII and peculiar to this collection. On another stand is a curious helmet with a grotesque mask and ram's horns. This like the mounted suit was a present from the Emperor Maximilian to his kinsman Henry VIII. It was formerly wrongly supposed to have belonged to the king's jester, Will Somers. The splendid mounted suit, one of the finest in the world, was sent over in 1514, and was constructed specially for Henry VIII by Conrad Seusenhofer, one of Maximilian's armourers, whose mark it bears on the helmet. The whole suit was originally silvered over and still shows the engraving of a St. George and numerous repetitions of the badges of Henry and his first queen, Katherine of Arragon. Observe the fluted skirt of steel in imitation of the civil dress, and bearing on it besides the rose and pomegranate the gilt letters H and K. The gauntlets have unfortunately been lost. The horse armour is also elaborately engraved with badges and groups representing incidents in the life and death of St. George and St. Barbara. This bard was also originally silvered over, but there is reason to believe that it was made in England by one of Henry's German armourers, of whom he had many in his service.

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The next mounted figure is of later date and is russetted and gilt. It is further ornamented by repoussé work, like the famous lion suit in Paris. The horse armour of Henry VII's time is boldly wrought and displays in high relief the Burgundian badges of the cross ragulé and the steel and fire stone.

The next suit with a flexible metal skirt also belonged to Henry VIII. It was for combats on foot in the lists and is known as a tonlet suit. The headpiece is a fine one, bearing twice repeated the mark of the Missaglia family of armourers of Milan. Next are some weapons in which short gun barrels are seen combined with longhanded maces, &c. Next is a very complete suit, also for fighting on foot in the lists. The protection for the wearer is perfect, but the means of movement for arms or legs is very moderate. Walking would be slow, sitting impossible. The suit is composed of no less than 235 pieces of metal, all carefully designed and articulated with each other, and it weighs 92 lbs.

At the end of the room are a mounted and two foot figures of the sixteenth century and just beyond is a large and much repaired suit of the same period, though formerly wrongly attributed to John of Gaunt.

The case at the end of the room contains helmets of many kinds and of various dates. Amongst them are some of ancient form but of very modern make. These will be seen to have been made without a full knowledge of the requirements of actual use. Observe the two salades, or light helmets, with visors and one of which has its original quilted lining. The genuine tilting helmets will be distinguished from false ones by the arrangement of the ocularium or eye slit, which in the modern examples would allow of the easy insertion of the opponent's lance point. Note also the so-called spider helmets and the morions, some with peaks and others with one or three combs.

The visitor now descends the room and in the first enclosure should notice the very handsome mounted suit for man and horse. There are two headpieces to this suit, the one with a falling bevor for the field, the other a close helmet for the tilt yard. The figures on foot also belong to the same period, that is, the second third of the sixteenth century.

The next enclosure contains another mounted figure and two foot figures somewhat later than those in the first enclosure.

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It must be remembered that many of these figures are composed of portions of different suits, and in many instances the more perishable portions such as the foot and hand defences, have been at various periods renewed and supplemented by gauntlets, &c., of modern construction, in order to give a complete appearance to the figures, though, as has been remarked, complete armour was at all times very rare.

In the next enclosure are two foot armours of the last third of the sixteenth century, one with a very protuberant breastplate and heavy helmet. The mounted suit is one which belonged to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth. The whole suit is impressed with the ragged staff, the badge adopted by the Earl, and engraved on the armour will also be seen the George of the Garter and the bear and ragged staff as well as the collar of the Order of St. Michael which Leicester received in 1566. On parts of the suit are also engraved his initials, R. D. Besides the figure are the grandguard and passguard or elbowguard, both similarly enriched with the ragged staff. These extra pieces were for the tilt yard and protected the left side, that on which the riders passed each other. When this suit had its original gilding it must have been of very great beauty.

The next two enclosures contain mounted and foot suits of the sixteenth century, some of them from the large collection at Malta.

The mounted figure in the last enclosure used to be attributed, but without sufficient authority, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who was executed in 1601. It is richly engraved and traces of the gilding still remain. It was worn by the Royal Champion at the coronation of George II.

In the same enclosure are three foot suits of the same period and a curiously long-bodied armour of splints.

The armour at the end of the room also belongs to the reign of James I, but it will be seen that parts are of very inferior workmanship, and point to the rapid decline of the armourer's art.

The visitor now returns and passes into the next room. In the wall-case on his right hand are placed swords of various types. Observe the very fine Venetian cinquedea, a broad-bladed sword with the blade covered with engraving. There are also some combined weapons such as the gunner's

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quadrant for laying cannon, the degrees being marked on an axe blade. Observe also the feather staff or walking stick, from the head of which can be ejected by a spring three pointed blades of steel.

In the case on the left are maces for horsemen and early forms of the bayonet, including the earliest or plug pattern, which was placed in the muzzle of the musket. The next case on the right contains cross-bows of various kinds and the instruments for bending them. This is effected in some cases by an arrangement of pulleys, in others by a cranequin or cric, in which a series of cog wheels and a toothed ratchet draw back the bow-cord to its proper place. Note also the light stone bows for discharging pellets. Cross-bows have been used in England only for sport and the examples here are for such use. In the case will also be seen two long bows recovered from the "Mary Rose," sunk in 1545. They are of fine grained yew and are 6 feet 2¼ inches long.

In the next wall-case are fire arms, including some famous ones, such as two guns which belonged to Henry VIII. They are breech-loading weapons on a system very like the Snider rifle. Note also a musket and a caliver of about 1595, from Penshurst. These also are matchlocks and have the simplest form of lock. Observe the light fowling piece which belonged to Charles I when aged 14. It is the earliest weapon here which has a flint lock, and bears the prince's initials and the date 1614; part of the lock is wanting. There are also several specimens of guns and pistols with wheel locks, the guns being sporting weapons. Observe also the matchlock musket of William III's soldiers with the plug bayonet in the muzzle. There is also a French musket with the Vauban lock, in which the match is combined with the flint lock, and near it will be seen an earlier English lock on the same principle.

The first enclosure contains armour of King James II, the faceguard of the helmet bears the royal arms and J. R.; the cuirass and bridle gauntlet also have the King's monogram. The saddle and trappings of the figure belonged to William III.

The figures on foot, as also the mounted figures on the other side of the room, show the horseman's armour of the reign of Charles I, and many of the suits are russetted or painted. Observe the pikemen's suits on the opposite side and the 18-foot pikes in use in the Civil War.

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The richly gilt and engraved suit was presented to Charles I by the City of London, and is the latest complete suit in the collection. The design, it will be noticed, is wanting in the elegance of earlier times and the suit itself was probably never worn by the king, who we are told wore an iron hat of civil shape, covered with black velvet, at Edgehill.

In the centre cases are placed powder horns, flasks, gun-locks, and other objects belonging to this period, some of fine workmanship and formerly in the Bernal collection.

In the next enclosure are several small cannon constructed for the education of Charles II when prince, also portions of silvered armour made for him when a boy. The full suit is one made for Charles I when young, and exhibits the class of armour worn by the mounted soldiers of the reign of James I. By removing the helmet and the armour for the legs and arms, and substituting the pott helmet and the short taces, or thigh guards, the armour of the foot soldier is shown. Note the imitation of several small plates in the taces, also the construction of the pott helmet of two pieces overlapping at the crest. These are both of them symptoms of the decay of the armourer's art at this period.

In the last enclosure is a rich suit of armour given to Prince Henry by the Prince de Joinville. This suit, though richly ornamented with gilt representations of classical subjects, and formerly of blued steel, is of inferior design to the suit of Prince Charles. The saddle steels belong to the small latter suit.

Near the door are gauntlets of various dates and helmets of the seventeenth century, as well as a modern one worn by Prince Louis Napoleon at the Eglinton tournament in 1839.

LONDON:
Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office,
By HARRISON & SONS, St. Martin's Lane,
Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
(Wt. 1597 15500 4 | 96—H & S 4332)

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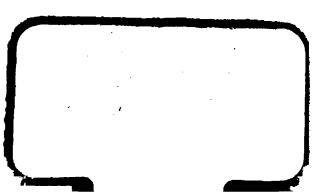

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